DIDYMA

Apollo's Oracle, Cult, and Companions

Joseph Fontenrose

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This book describes the physical setting of the Oracle of Apollo at Didyma, including the great temple and other buildings within the sanctuary; the history of the oracle; the process of consultation; the form and content of the god's replies; and the identity of the consultants.

The author makes use of the abundant literary and epigraphical evidence, which he knew intimately. He is much less skeptical than he was in his famous work on the Delphic Oracle—he accepts nearly all the recorded responses as having been actually delivered at Didyma. He provides text, translation, and a valuable commentary for each.

This book brings together a large body of material of great interest to students of the history of religion, and provides a full discussion by a scholar whose authority in this area is acknowledged throughout the learned world.

At the time of his death in July of 1986, Joseph Fontenrose was Professor of Classics, Emeritus, at the University of California, Berkeley. He was a world authority on the subject of oracles. His previous books include *The Delphic Oracle* (California, 1978) and *Python: A Study of the Delphic Myth and Its Origins* (California, 1959, reprinted 1980).

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Joseph Fontenrose

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

Berkeley Los Angeles London

University of California Press
Berkeley and Los Angeles, California

University of California Press, Ltd.
London, England

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The Regents of the University of California

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Fontenrose, Joseph Eddy, 1903–1986
Didyma : Apollo's oracle, cult, and companions.

Bibliography: p.
Includes index.
1. Didyma (Ancient city)—Religious life and customs.
2. Apollo (Greek deity)—Cult—Turkey—Didyma (Ancient city) 3. Cults—Turkey—Didyma (Ancient city)
4. Oracles, Greek—Turkey—Didyma (Ancient city)
I. Title.
BL2320.F66 1987 292'.0939'24 86-19196
ISBN 0-520-05845-3 (alk. paper)

Printed in the United States of America

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

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Preface

This book completes a project that I have had in mind for half a century. In October, 1933, I completed my doctoral dissertation, *The Cults of the Milesian Didyma*. After receiving my degree in December of that year, I decided not to prepare the dissertation for publication until I had made a thorough study of Delphi, especially of the Delphic Oracle—since my study of Didyma had aroused my interest in Oracles—but also of the cults, myths, and history of ancient Delphi. Little did I realize the magnitude of the task. Over forty years I worked on Delphi, turning aside on occasion to other subjects for long periods, and published *Python* (1959) on Delphic myth and *The Delphic Oracle* (1978) on the oracular business of Delphi, besides a monograph and several articles and reviews on Delphic subjects. Then, after writing *Orion,* I could return to Didyma and a renewed study of the subject.

The present book is different in many respects from my dissertation. Since 1933 much more evidence has become known. Knackfuss's detailed account of Apollo's temple appeared in 1941, the Rehm-Harder edition of Didymaean inscriptions in 1958. Excavations and study of finds have continued until the present, and more inscriptions have been found. Several good monographs and articles on Didymaean cults and history have been published. I have, moreover, changed many views expressed in the dissertation on major and minor matters. Above all my study of the Delphic Oracle has dras-

tically changed my early notions of oracular operations and responses. Hence, I am sure, the present book is sounder and more complete than the dissertation or any book on Didyma that I might have written in the 1930s.

This book also benefits from my visit to Didyma on August 8, 1967. I crossed the stretch of sea between Samos and Kuşadasi on Monday, August 7, and went by bus to Söke that afternoon. Early next morning I rode the bus from Söke to Didyma and spent a good part of the day in and around Apollo's great temple. It was an unforgettable experience to walk about the dodekastylos, traverse the shady passages that descend from the pronaos to the adyton, filled with sunlight, and ascend the steps that lead up to the once roofed chamber and the stairway that still remains on its south side. The temple and its surroundings offered all the excitement that I had expected: I had described the temple accurately in my dissertation, but entirely from what had been written about it. Now I had seen it.

Late that afternoon I visited the sites of Miletos and Priene and returned to Söke. The next day I took the bus to Kuşadasi, whence I visited Ephesos and Selçuk, and on Thursday, August 10, I went back by boat to Samos. My three days in Turkey, on the Ionian coast of the Aegean Sea, were among the pleasantest of my life. I was treated very well by everyone, and I must express special thanks to Muammar Sarp, bus (*dolmuş*) caller in Kuşadasi, and to Hilmi Meydan, teacher of English in Söke, for kindness and help freely offered to a traveler in a strange land.

My purpose in writing this book is to offer a complete account of Apollo's Oracle and cult at Didyma and of the cults of other gods and heroes established on the site and nearby. As yet little has been written in English on Didyma, and that only on special subjects. So far the least limited study is Thomas Robinson's recent dissertation (Harvard, 1981), *Theological Oracles and the Sanctuaries of Claros and Didyma,* which, as the title indicates, treats only one kind of oracular response and includes those of Klaros, but appends a complete corpus of responses for both Oracles. There has been much written in German and French on Didyma, mostly on the excavations, the temple of Apollo, and the inscriptions, and some valuable treatises on cults and the Oracle, for example, Bernard Haussoullier's *Etudes sur l'histoire de Milet et du Didymeion,* Klaus Tuchelt's *Vorarbeiten zu einer Topographie von Didyma,* and Wolfgang Günther's *Das Orakel von Didyma in hellenistischer Zeit.* To all these works I am indebted. But as yet no one has written a whole account of Didymaean religion in any language.

On the description of the temple, Sacred Way, and other matters I must necessarily go over the ground that other scholars have treated, but these topics must be included in a complete account of the Didymaean Oracle and cults.

This book is intended not only for classical scholars and ancient historians, but also for all persons interested in Oracles and in the study of religion, such as anthropologists, folklorists, sociologists, humanists, and, in fact, for any interested reader. It is my hope that it will be easily understood by any reader, even if he or she knows little or no Greek. Hence I have translated all quotations in Greek and Latin.

Among the cults of Didyma I include those of the southern half of the Milesian peninsula and those along the Sacred Way, beginning just outside the city gate of Miletos. These are too close to Didyma to ignore.

As in the prefaces of my earlier books I must explain my practice in representing Greek proper names in Roman letters; for I still meet with objections to it or misunderstandings of it. In general I prefer direct transliteration, since, I believe, Latinization, as in *Cyzicus* for *Kyzikos,* misrepresents the Greek name to English readers. But for such familiar forms as *Thucydides, Aeschylus, Sophocles,* and *Alexander,* such representations as *Thoukydides* (or *Thoukudides*), *Aischylos* (or *Aischulos* or *Aiskhulos*), *Sophokles,* and *Alexandros* look both strange and over-pedantic. I have also decided that the slightly inconsistent "Apollo Klarios," "Apollo Pythios," is more convenient than "Apollon Klarios" or "Apollon Pythios," which may confuse some readers. I also allow such forms as *Koan,* though a bit hybrid. So, I grant, there is some inconsistency in my practice, but, it seems to me, a perfect consistency is not desirable in this matter. I follow my practice in *Python, The Delphic Oracle,* and *Orion,* which appears to have been acceptable to most readers. I have been told that the fashion at present is to Latinize proper names. But why should one have to follow fashions?

To several friends I owe great thanks for help in my production of this book: to Ronald Stroud, Raphael Sealey, and Crawford Greenewalt for reading the manuscript and offering suggestions and corrections; to Mary Lea for drawing excellent maps; to Thomas Robinson for a photocopy of his dissertation.

—Berkeley, June 1986

Foreword

Joseph Fontenrose's dissertation on the oracle of Apollo at Didyma earned him the degree of Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley in 1933. He had received his earlier training (A.B. 1925; M.A. 1928) from the University, to whose service, after spending a year each at the University of Oregon and at Yale, he was to devote his life from 1937 onward. His long experience of the Berkeley campus ensured that during his chairmanship of the Department of Classics from 1962 to 1966 nothing was overlooked that could be of advantage to the Department or to his colleagues individually, but his chairmanship is memorable not so much for his efficiency in transacting business as for the very real kindness with which he helped everybody whose fortunes he was in a position to influence. His *Classics at Berkeley: The First Hundred Years* (1982) is eloquent testimony to his respect and concern for colleagues past, present, and future.

Professor Fontenrose excelled as a teacher and attracted large general audiences to his lectures on Greek Mythology. But his teaching of future classical scholars was still more distinguished, as was recognized even after his retirement in 1970. More than once he was recalled to teach seminars. To the end of his life he was always ready to devote time and trouble to anybody who came to him with scholarly questions, and students interested in Greek religion often profited at least as much from consultations with him as from their formal coursework.

His reputation as an original scholar was securely established by an impressive list of publications. He wrote many articles and was in constant demand as a reviewer and as a contributor to encyclopedias. In 1959 appeared his *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origins,* followed in the next year by *The Cult and Myth of Pyrros at Delphi.* In 1978 his *Delphic Oracle* laid before the world the conclusions he had reached after a lifetime's study of Greek oracular institutions. Much that he wrote was controversial; but his authority, and the scholarship on which it rested, are universally recognized.

His classical scholarship ranged widely. He also made important contributions in an unrelated field. His work on John Steinbeck (notably *John Steinbeck: An Introduction and Interpretation,* published in 1963) reflects the width of his literary interests and also a determination, which he inherited from his Cornish ancestors, to stand up for his rights and those of everybody who needed a champion. This determination also showed itself in his vigorous support for the establishment of a professional union of the Berkeley faculty. Even those of his colleagues who were most opposed to the concept listened with respect to the arguments of a man whose sincerity, honesty, and disinterestedness they did not question.

Fontenrose's Ph.D. dissertation on Didyma had foreshadowed his lifelong interest in the oracles of Apollo. It might have been expected to appear as his first book shortly after its acceptance. But he laid it aside, to return to the subject at the end of his life of scholarship. His delay may have been partly due to the fact that it was only after his retirement that he found time to visit the site of Didyma and make the first-hand observations whose value is apparent in the present work. With Delphi he had long been familiar.

At the time of his sudden death from a heart attack, while he was attending the Ashland Shakespeare Festival in the summer of 1986, the manuscript of the present work had already been accepted by the University of California Press. I was called upon to act in his stead during the book's production. I have to thank Dennis Andersen, who as Editor has shown unfailing sympathy and tact in his endeavors to realize the author's wishes for his book. Andersen's scholarship has removed some blemishes which I had overlooked; I beg the critics' indulgence for those that may remain. I also express my gratitude to Mary Lamprech and Doris Kretschmer of the Press for their helpful interest. The author himself has acknowledged (p. xi) help received from other scholars, but he also expressed the intention of writing a fuller list of acknowledgments. To those whose names would have appeared in that list, and who are unknown to me, I offer my apologies.

Finally to Marie Fontenrose I express not only my colleagues' sympathy and my own, but gratitude for many kindnesses extending over thirty years. Of these, her support in this present endeavour has been by no means the least.

J. K. Anderson
Professor of Classical Archaeology
University of California at Berkeley

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Abbreviations

H, Q, L, and F refer to the Catalogue of Delphic Responses (Fontenrose 1978: 240–416), and stand for Historical, Quasi-Historical, Legendary, and Fictional, respectively. For example, Q134, L33.

R, RA, and RB refer to the Didymaean Responses (pp. 177–231), Supplement A (pp. 232–237), and Supplement B (pp. 237–243), respectively, of this volume. For example, R39, RB2.

Frequently cited books and journals are referred to by the following abbreviations:

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology.*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology.*
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.*
Bericht	See Bibliography: Wiegand, Theodor. Bericht 6, 7, 8.
BMGC	*Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum.*
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History.* 3d edition.
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.* Edited by August Boeckh. 4 vols. Berlin, 1828–1877.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.* Many vols. Berlin, 1862– .
CIRB	*Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani.* Moscow, Leningrad: Nauka, 1965.

CRAI *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.*

DI *Didyma: Inschriften.* See Bibliography: Rehm and Harder.

EM *Etymologicon Magnum.*

FD *Fouilles de Delphes.* Edited by Théophile Homolle and others. Ecole Française d'Athènes. 5 vols. in several fascicules each (incomplete). Paris: Fontemoing, de Boccard, 1906– .

GHI *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* Edited by Russell Meiggs and David Lewis. 2d edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

GRBS *Greek-Roman-Byzantine Studies.*

IBM *Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.* Edited by C. T. Newton. 4 vols. Oxford, 1874–1916.

ICos *Inscriptions of Cos.* Edited by W. R. Paton and G. L. Hicks. Oxford, 1891.

ICret *Inscriptiones Creticae.* Edited by M. Guarducci. 4 vols. Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1935–1950.

IG *Inscriptiones Graecae.* Many vols. Berlin, 1828– .

IGR *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes.* Edited by R. Cagnat and others. 4 vols. Paris: Leroux, 1906–1927.

IM *Istanbuler Mitteilungen.*

IMagn *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander.* Edited by Otto Kern. Berlin, 1900.

IOlympia *Inschriften von Olympia.* Edited by W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold. Berlin, 1896.

IOSPE *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae.* Edited by Basilius Latyshev. 2 vols. in 3. St. Petersburg, 1890–1901.

IPerg *Altertümer von Pergamon: Inschriften.* 8.2, edited by M. Fränkel. Berlin, 1895. 8.3, edited by Christian Habicht. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969.

IPriene *Inschriften von Priene.* Edited by F. Hiller von Gaertringen. Berlin, 1906.

J Jacoby, Felix. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.* 3 vols. in 14. Berlin, Weidmann; Leiden, Brill, 1923–1958. (J follows the citation; for example, Ephoros 70.127J.)

JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies.*

LM *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen*

Mythologie. Edited by W. H. Roscher. 6 vols. in 9. Leipzig: Teubner, 1881–1937.

LSAM *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*. Edited by F. Sokołowski. Paris: de Boccard, 1955.

LSJ Liddell, H. G.; Scott, R.; and Jones, H. S. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940.

M Mueller, C., and Mueller, Th. *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*. 5 vols. Paris: 1868–1883. (M follows the citation; for example, Kleitophon 4.368.5M.)

Michel *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*. Edited by Charles Michel. Paris, 1900.

Milet *Milet: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen seit dem Jahre 1899*. Edited by Theodor Wiegand and others. 4 vols. in several fascicules each (incomplete). Berlin: Reimer, 1906– .

OCD *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 2d edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

OGIS *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. Edited by W. Dittenberger. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1903–1905.

PW See Bibliography: Parke, H. W., and Wormell, D. E. W., *The Delphic Oracle II*.

RE *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Pauly-Wissowa).

REG *Revue des Etudes Grecques*.

SBA *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Berlin.

SBAW *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. München.

Schwyzer *Dialectorum graecorum exempla epigraphica potiora*. Edited by Eduard Schwyzer. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1923.

SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.

SGDI *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*. Edited by H. Collitz and F. Bechtel. 4 vols. in 5. Göttingen, 1884–1889.

SIG *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Edited by W. Dittenberger. 3d edition. 4 vols. in 5. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1915–1924.

TAPhA *Transactions of the American Philological Association*.

ZPE *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*.

I

Introduction: Site and History

SITE

Just ten miles from Miletos in southern Ionia Apollo had a famous temple, which housed an Oracle, second to the Delphic Oracle in fame and prestige among Apolline Oracles. In its final form this temple was one of the three largest in the Greek world. It was the center of a large temenos (the sacred demesne), which enclosed the village of Didyma. The sanctuary and village were situated in Milesian territory and connected with the city both by sea from the harbor of Panormos (about two and a half miles to the northwest) and by the Sacred Way, which ran first northwestward to Panormos, whence it went generally northeastward over hills, meadows, and woods—crossing the ridge of Stephania—to the Sacred Gate in the South Wall of the city (see Map 2, p. 4). To the southwest of Didyma Cape Poseidion is situated at the corner of the Milesian peninsula between the Latmic and Bargylietic Gulfs. Apollo's temple stands in a hollow on tableland on the western slope of the hills in southwestern Milesia, where it commands a fine view of mountains and sea; behind it lies the Grion range. Apollo was fortunate in the sites of his major shrines, especially of Delphi, Delos, and Didyma—Delphi and Didyma for their views of mountains and distant sea, Delos for its view of sea and surrounding islands. The entire foundation of the temple at Didyma and part of the structure, including three entire columns, are visible today. The site is surrounded by the

Phôkaia
Chios
Erythrai
Klazomenai
Smyrna
Teos
Kaystros River
Lebedos
Kolophôn
Klaros
Notion
Aegean Sea
Ephesos
Magnesia-on-Maeander
Samos
Panionion
Maeander River
Mt. Mykalê
Priênê
Myûs
Latmic Gulf
Latmos Mts.
Herakleia
Miletos
Panormos
Didyma
Cape Poseidion
Patmos
Iasos
Halikarnassos
0 10 20 30 40 50 km

1. Ionia

village that the Greeks who lived there until 1923 called Ieronda (Holy Place), which the present Turkish inhabitants call Didim-Yenihisar.[1]

Ancient writers sometimes call the sanctuary and village *Branchidai*. This is the name that Herodotos uses, except when quoting a Delphic response (6.19.2 = Q134) and again immediately after the quotation. Properly *Branchidai* is the name of the priestly or mantic family (clan or association) that controlled the sanctuary and Oracle before 494 B.C., when the archaic temple was destroyed. After 330 the use of *Branchidai* for the locality is archaic and found only in literature. The Branchidai disappear from history after 494 (except for an episode of the Alexander legend; see below); and the Oracle, when renewed after 334, was differently governed. The two names recall those of Delphi (named for the Phokian tribe, Delphoi, who settled there sometime before 800 B.C.), also called Pytho, the original place name. But whereas the ethnic name *Delphoi* eventually eclipsed the place name *Pytho,* which became archaic and poetic, *Didyma,* the place name, was the current designation of shrine and locality from 450 B.C. at latest. It is the only name employed in Milesian and Didymaean inscriptions; the gentile name *Branchidai* virtually disappeared from usage. There is another difference: *Delphoi* is always masculine in gender, but *Branchidai* is commonly feminine, apparently with reference to the locality, while the masculine *hoi Branchidai* refers to the priesthood.[2]

The ancients supposed that Didyma is a Greek name—and some modern scholars have supposed so too—taking it as the neuter plural of *didymos* and interpreting it as designating two hills or two gods (or twin deities) or two temples (or a double temple). Hence we oc-

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1. As in *The Delphic Oracle* (1978) the word *Oracle* with capital initial letter indicates an oracular establishment (the Delphic Oracle, Didymaean Oracle), *oracle* with small initial letter an oracular response. Zeus's Oracle at Dodona was probably the most prestigious Greek Oracle after Delphi. According to Conon (36 B.C.–17 A.D.) *Narr.* 33, however, Didyma was second to Delphi among all Greek Oracles: *καὶ μέχρι νῦν χρηστηρίων Ἑλληνικῶν ὧν ἴσμεν μετὰ Δελφοὺς κράτιστον ὁμολογεῖται τὸ τῶν Βραγχιδῶν*, "And up to the present of Hellenic Oracles that we know that of Branchidai is agreed to be greatest after Delphi." On the Sacred Way see *Milet* 1.3.133; Wiegand 1929: 6–10; Tuchelt 1973: 16–18, 1980: 102–121; see pp. 28–29 below with note 2. On Panormos see Herod. 1.157.3; Thuc. 8.24.1; Paus. 5.7.5. See Map 2. The distance from Miletos to Didyma is variously given as from nine to twelve miles (fifteen to twenty kilometers), depending on how the measurement is made. See Tuchelt 1984b: 1.

2. Feminine *hai Branchidai*, Herod. 1.92.2, 2.159.3; *hoi Branchidai*, 1.158.1 (see R38). The feminine gender is anomalous for a locality named after a family or tribe and leads one to wonder whether it was not a place name to begin with, later assumed by the priesthood with change of gender, who then claimed a common descent from Branchos. See Tuchelt 1970: 194.

2. Milesian Peninsula

casionally find a masculine *Didymoi*. But there is no feature of the site (ancient or modern) that suggests any obvious pair. There are no twin peaks near Didyma. The twin gods would be Apollo and Artemis, but Artemis had a subordinate cult at Didyma and was in no sense supposed to be a partner of Apollo in temple or Oracle. The two gods were taken to be Apollo and Zeus, but though Zeus Soter had an important cult at Didyma, he did not share the great temple with Apollo, and he was not considered to be Apollo's partner either. Apollo's Didymeion had no rival structure, nor did any god share it with Apollo; it was in no sense a double temple. In short, the connection of the name with *didymos* is a folk etymology. The name is Carian: we need only look at Carian place names—Idyma, Kibyma, Loryma, Sidyma—to realize that Didyma on the Carian coast has the same ending.[3]

ORIGINS

According to Pausanias, the sanctuary and Oracle of Apollo at Didyma were founded before the Ionian settlement, which is usually dated in the eleventh century B.C., and many scholars have accepted his statement. Other Greek writers, dealing with legendary material, supposed that the Didymaean Oracle was operating in the second millennium, if not earlier. Lyrkos, Phoroneus' son, as one story goes, consulted the Oracle at Didyma, having settled in Kaunos, when searching for Io at Inachos' bidding (R57). In other stories Menelaos dedicated Euphorbos' shield in Apollo's temple; Herakles founded the great altar of ashes; Erginos came from Branchos' country to join the Argonauts; and the Carians came from Branchos' glens to help the Trojans. In Statius' *Thebaid* Amphiaraos refers to Branchos

3. Didymoi: Paus. 7.2.6; see Schol. vet. on Aristoph. *Lys.* 1281: Didymos (or Didymon?). Two hills: Georgios Pachymeres *De Andronico Paleologo* 3.233 Migne. Twin deities, Apollo and Artemis: Schol. on Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 3.45, 39P; see ps.-Lucian *Astrol.* 23: Didyma was named for the heavenly twins, the Dioskûroi. Two gods, Apollo and Zeus: Callim. 229.1 Pf. *ap.* Heph. *De metris* p. 30 *et ap.* EM 247; Steph. Byz. 229 Mein. See *DI* 89–90, lines 8–9, *ἅμα τοῖς διδύμοις θεοῖς*, referring either to Zeus and Leto or to Apollo and Artemis. Two temples or double temple: Schol. on Clem. Alex. *loc. cit.*; Farnell 1907: 227. Notice Callim. 229.11 Pf., referring to two springs. See Fontenrose 1932: 246–247, 251–252. Carian name: Rayet-Thomas 1885: 28; *RE* 5:437; Hiller von Gaertringen 1932: 1587; Laumonier 1958: 560; Tuchelt 1970: 194; Günther 1971: 12. It is possible that *Didyma* = *Dindyma*: Dindymon is the name of several mountains in western Asia Minor, whence the Great Mother's name *Dindymênê*. See Strabo 14.1.40, 647; Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "Die Herkunft der Magneten-am-Maeander," *Hermes* 30 (1895): 181; Gruppe 1906: 1250; Mayer 1932: 1649; Fontenrose 1932: 252.

as oracle-speaker, and the Argive hosts, lamenting Amphiaraos' death, refer to Branchos' shrine and the Didymaean thresholds (*limina*). Finally, Neileus, leader of the Ionian migration, received earth and water, the predicted sign of his future city, from a maid at Branchidai (see L70), and, according to Tzetzes (twelfth century A.D.), consulted the Oracle at Didyma (R59), presumably active before his arrival. But such evidence for a pre-Ionian cult and Oracle of Apollo at Didyma has no more value than the numerous legends which assumed that the Delphic Oracle had been active in bronze-age Greece and had been established in the earliest days of the world. It is unlikely that there was any Oracle (or perhaps any settlement or sanctuary) at Didyma before 1000 B.C. Its foundation was probably made after the Ionians had been settled for at least a century in Miletos, probably not before 900 at earliest.[4]

The Ionian migration from the Greek peninsula to the west coast of Asia Minor occurred sometime between 1200 and 1000; we cannot be more precise than that. Earlier than 1200 Achaean Greeks had settled at Miletos and other Ionian cities, and so, perhaps, had Minoan Cretans. There is probably no echo of these settlements in the legends, reported by Strabo and others, that Cretans led by Sarpedon or by Miletos, Apollo's son and Minos' grandson, had founded the city of Miletos; it may be that these stories attempt to relate the Ionian city to Cretan Milatos. Yet the excavations of Miletos have revealed both Minoan and Mycenaean objects. The Cretan objects may mean no more than trade between the Carians of pre-Ionian Miletos and Crete, but certainly there was a Mycenaean settlement—at least a trading post—at Miletos from as early as the sixteenth century. Mycenaean and sub-Mycenaean vases and other artifacts, as well as a late Mycenaean fortification wall, have been found on the site. Furthermore Miletos may have been an important post of an Achaean power, Ahhiyawa; for Hittite documents mention a city, Millawanda or Millawatas, and historians in general are inclined to accept the equations Millawanda = Miletos and Ahhiyawa = Achaia. If Achaeans governed Millawanda, they had mainly Anatolian subjects, probably Carian. The Greeks who settled there were surely a minority of the

4. Paus. 7.2.6. For legends of pre-Ionian Didyma see Parthen. 1 (Lyrkos; see R57); Diog. Laert. 8.5 (Euphorbos' shield; according to the story the *iatromantis* Hermotimos came to Apollo's temple and pointed to the shield of Euphorbos dedicated by Menelaos, thus proving that he had been Euphorbos in a former life); Paus. 5.13.11 (Herakles); *Orph. Arg.* 152–153 (Erginos); Quint. Smyrn. 1.283 (Carians at Troy). Stat. *Theb.* 3.478–479, 8.198–200; Lyk. 1378–1381; Tzetz. *Chil.* 13.110–116.

population. Yet, despite the wealth of Mycenaean finds at Miletos, apparently none have been uncovered at Didyma, where nothing has appeared that certainly antedates the late geometric period (i.e., approximately 800 B.C.). Hence we have no evidence for a Carian cult center at Didyma, much less for an Oracle, before the Ionian settlement.[5]

The Ionians probably did not cross the Aegean in a single movement, as some ancients seem to have supposed, especially in the legend of Neileus Kodros' son, but in several waves. And they were not all Ionians, but a mixed lot, as Herodotos and Pausanias tell us. According to Herodotos the Ionian migration included Abantes of Euboia, Minyans of Orchomenos, Kadmeioi, Dryopes, Phokians, Molossians, Arcadian Pelasgians, Dorian Epidaurians, and other *ethnea*. Pausanias mentions Thebans (= Kadmeioi), Minyans of Orchomenos, and Abantes, along with Athenians as leaders. It is likely that many of the migrants set out from Athens, but surely not all; nor was Athens in any sense the metropolis of the Ionian cities in Asia (a claim that was made in later years). For we must realize that those cities were not colonies in the sense in which the term is used for the cities founded in Italy, Sicily, and on the Euxine shores, sent out from mother cities in the Greek homelands in the great colonization period between 750 and 500. A colony was a city (*polis*) that a Greek city (*mêtropolis*) founded in a distant land, having sent the settlers there; the Ionian migration was part of the migrations of the

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5. Cassola 1957; Carl Weichert, "Neue Ausgrabungen in Milet," *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen im Mittelmeergebiet und im vorderen Orient* (Berlin, 1959), 181–188; Alfred Mallwitz, "Zur mykenischen Befestigung von Milet," *IM* 9/10 (1959/60): 67–76; Gerhard Kleiner, *Alt-Milet, Sitzb. der Wiss. Ges. Frankfurt* 4.1 (1966): 5–14; *id.*, "Stand der Erforschung von Alt-Milet," *IM* 19/20 (1969/70): 113–123; Huxley 1966: 15–22; Wolfgang Schiering, "Die minoisch-mykenische Siedlung in Milet vor dem Bau der grossen Mauer," *IM* 25 (1975): 9–15; Walter Voigtländer, "Die mykenische Stadtmauer in Milet und einzelne Wehranlagen der späten Bronzezeit," *ibid.* 16–34; Sakellariou 1978: 143–154; Frank H. Stubbings, *CAH* 2.22(a).5. On Millawanda = Miletos see Cassola 1957: 314; Kleiner, *Alt-Milet* 12; Stubbings, *op. cit.* 186; Denys Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), 18; Huxley 1966: 17–18; N. K. Sanders, *The Sea Peoples: Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean 1250–1150 B.C.* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978), 36. Sakellariou rejects the identification; see 1978: 152–154; 1958: 444–449. For the Greek legends of an early Cretan foundation see Ephoros 70.127J *ap.* Strab. 14.1.6, 634; Nicander *ap.* Ant. Lib. 30.1–2; Apollod. 3.1.2; Ovid *Met.* 9.443–449; Paus. 7.2.5; Schol. vet. on Apollon. *Arg.* 1.185. In the Trojan Catalogue (Iliad 2.867–869) Miletos is a Carian city. Two hearths found in the excavations of the adyton of the Didymeion are considered by Drerup (1964: 345–346) to be possibly pre-Hellenic, but there is no certainty about their date; see also Fehr 1972: 41, 54. Neolithic objects have been found in or near Didyma, but nothing that indicates a cult center: see *IM* 34 (1984): 5–30.

later second millennium before the *polis* had arisen. Hence the Greek cities of the east Aegean coast were part of the Greek homelands, the lands where the Hellenes were settled at the end of the second millennium B.C., after which two or three centuries elapsed before the archaic age began.[6]

According to the legend, Neileus Kodros' son led the Ionian migrants and founded Miletos, where his men took Carian wives, having killed the women's fathers, husbands, and sons; whence, says Herodotos, Milesians' wives do not eat in their husbands' company or call them by name. The reason given for the custom (if that was in fact an ancient Milesian custom) is probably untrue; for surely Carian men remained in Miletos and mingled with the Ionian invaders. Herodotos' story is itself evidence for a mixed Hellenic and Carian population. It was surely this people, calling itself Ionian, that founded the shrine of Apollo at Didyma.[7]

HISTORY

Archaic Didyma

Our earliest written evidence for Didyma is several inscriptions in archaic letters, dated in the sixth century. From these it is evident that the cult and Oracle of Apollo Didymeus were then well established: there are three oracular responses (R1–3) among them and several records of offerings to Apollo. In the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (perhaps circa 600 B.C.) the poet invokes Apollo, calling him lord of Lykia, Maionia (Lydia), and Miletos (*καὶ Μίλητον ἔχεις ἔναλον πόλιν ἱμερόεσσαν*, "and you hold Miletos, a lovely seaside city" [Hymn 3.180]), alluding to Apollo's supremacy in Milesian worship as expressed in the cults of Apollo Delphinios and Apollo Didymeus. The

6. On the Ionian migrations see Herod. 1.146; Pherekydes 3.155J *ap.* Strab. 14.1.3, 632; Strabo 14.1.2–7, 632–635; Paus. 7.2.1–6; Cassola 1957: 85–94; Sakellariou 1958; Sakellariou 1978: 154–164; J. M. Cook, *The Greeks in Ionia and the East* (New York: Praeger, 1963), 23–25; *id.*, *CAH* 2.38.2, 782–790; Huxley 1966: 23–35; R. J. Hopper, *The Early Greeks* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1977), 68–82. According to Pherekydes, the Ionian leader was Androklos Kodros' son, founder of Ephesos. See Map 1.

7. Herod. 1.146.2–3. On Neileus and the Ionian foundation of Miletos see Herod. 9.97; Hellanikos 4.125J *ap.* Schol. vet. *in* Plat. *Symp.* 208d; Kleitophon 4.368.5M *ap.* Schol. A *in Il.* 20.404; Schol. vet. on Lyk. 1378, 1379, 1385; Schol. on Aristeides *Or.* 13.110, 78 Dind. See R59, L70. On the origins of Miletos see Dunham 1915: 31–43; Hiller von Gaertringen 1932: 1586–1596; Huxley 1966: 26–27, 32.

earliest explicit literary references to Didyma or Branchidai occur in Herodotos' history, and we learn from him that the Oracle had great prestige in the sixth century and was then controlled by the Branchidai family.[8]

The earliest sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma probably consisted of an enclosure about an altar and spring. The first stone structures at Didyma, built in the late seventh century, were probably preceded by wooden buildings. Apollo's wooden temple was presumably a small structure, replaced by the first stone naiskos, a little temple or chapel. Then high walls were built to enclose the naiskos, perhaps only on three sides; that is, an adyton was constructed, apparently unroofed and open to the east. The German excavators have uncovered remains of the foundations of the north and south walls and of the early naiskos.[9]

About the middle of the sixth century construction was begun upon the second temple, a large structure about as long as the Parthenon and somewhat wider. It had a double row of columns on all sides, a pronaos that contained eight or twelve columns, and an hypaethral (unroofed) adyton that was more than twice as large as the whole first temple. In the western part of the adyton was situated a naiskos (whether this was the original or a new naiskos is uncertain). This stucture is known to scholars as the archaic temple and is probably that which Herodotos (1.159) or his informants had in mind in the tale of R39, when Aristodikos and the Kymaioi were told for the second time to surrender the Lydian Paktyes to the Persians. At that date (circa 545), however, the building of the archaic temple had hardly begun (if in fact any work had been done as yet); still, we may suppose that, if this really happened, Aristodikos took birds' nests from the walls of the naiskos or from the high walls that enclosed it.[10]

Apollo's shrine at Didyma had already acquired a reputation abroad while he was still housed in the earliest temple. After his victory at Megiddo in 608 Pharaoh Necho dedicated at Didyma the gar-

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8. See *DI* 1–19; Herod. 1.46.2 (see R37), 92.2, 157.3–159.4 (see R38–39), 2.159.3, 5.36.3, 6.19.2–3. On early Didyma down to 494 see Tuchelt 1970: 190–225, 1984b: 2; Günther 1971: 11–20.

9. On the earliest temple and naiskos see Gruben 1963: 101–102, 140; Drerup 1964; Tuchelt 1970: 194–203; 1973: 13–14; Fehr 1972: 39–41, 54. According to Fehr, the late-geometric temple had no naiskos, but a *Herdhaus*, a roofed structure containing a hearth, in which worshipers gathered and made sacrifices; there was also a spring chamber.

10. On the archaic temple see Knackfuss 1941: 121–129; Gruben 1963; Günther 1971: 16–18; Fehr 1972; Tuchelt 1973: 13–16. See pp. 31–34 below.

ments that he had worn in battle. A half century later King Croesus of Lydia made offerings at Didyma that were equal in weight and size to those that he made at Delphi. According to Herodotos, Croesus took his Didymaean offerings from the confiscated property of a Lydian who had opposed him early in his reign; to Delphi and Amphiaraos he gave treasures from his own wealth. The alleged source of his offerings at Didyma is questionable; the report may be a Delphian invention, a supplement to the story of Croesus' test of Oracles and meant to belittle the Didymaean offerings, which were admittedly as valuable and as numerous as those which Croesus made at Delphi.[11]

In Herodotos' account of Croesus' test, Didyma was one of seven oracular shrines that the king's several envoys consulted simultaneously on the hundredth day after leaving Sardis, asking what the king was doing at that moment; Didyma was one of five that failed the test (R37), Delphi (Q99) and Amphiaraos alone giving satisfactory answers. Though some credulous scholars still accept this story as historical truth, most are now inclined to consider it unhistorical along with most of the rest of Herodotos' account concerning Croesus' dealings with Delphi.[12]

The fall of Sardis to Cyrus about 546 meant that all western Anatolia, including Ionia, came under Persian domination. Miletos submitted to Cyrus peacefully and was granted the same terms as she had enjoyed under Croesus' rule. Later, if not from the first, the city paid tribute to the Persian king and was governed by a tyrant who supported the Persians. It was in this period that the second temple was built at Didyma.[13]

Not long after the fall of Sardis and before the Ionian cities were subjected to Persian rule, the Aeolic city of Kyme consulted Didyma, according to Herodotos. Paktyes, a Lydian whom Cyrus had entrusted with Croesus' gold, used it after Cyrus' departure to hire troops and to instigate a rebellion of the Lydians against the Persian governor. When the rebellion failed, Paktyes fled to Kyme for sanctuary. Mazares, Persian general, demanded that Kyme surrender Paktyes to him. Since surrender of one's suppliant is offensive to the

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11. Necho's offering: Herod. 2.159.3. Croesus' offerings: Herod. 1.92.2. See Fontenrose 1978: 112; H. W. Parke, "Croesus and Delphi," *GRBS* 25 (1984): 209–232.

12. See Herod. 1.46–47 (R37); Parke 1956: 132–133; Fontenrose 1978: 113; see p. 211 below.

13. Herod. 1.141, 161–163.1, 169, 171.1, 174–177, 4.137; Dunham 1915: 82–85; Hiller von Gaertringen 1932: 1594–1596.

gods, the Kymaioi sent envoys to Didyma to ask what they should do in this situation that would be pleasing to the gods. The response was to surrender Paktyes to the Persians (R38). This may be an authentic response, since it does no more than sanction a course of action and in that way is much like the certainly authentic responses of Delphi and Didyma. But the sequel (R39) in which the Kymaioi under Aristodikos consulted the Oracle a second time is probably not genuine, especially the final episode in which a voice from the adyton (presumably Apollo's own) spoke to Aristodikos, who was pulling sparrows' nests (the abodes of the god's suppliants) from the temple walls, and rebuked Kyme for even asking about surrender of suppliants. That is, because they asked about doing something that they should not even have contemplated doing, the god ordered them to commit an impious act. This is an exemplary tale, comparable to Herodotos' story of Glaukos Epikydes' son, who asked the Delphic god whether he might by taking oath keep a deposit of silver after the depositor's heirs had requested its return, and whom the god rebuked for his question (Q92).[14]

It was in the first half-century of Persian supremacy that the archaic temple was built. Towards the end of the sixth century the sculptor Kanachos made his bronze image of Apollo, identical in form with his Apollo Ismenios at Thebes, except that this he made from cedar wood. The image was placed in the naiskos, if we can judge from the cult image's position in later times. We do not know just when Didyma received the Kanachos Apollo, but it was probably not more than twenty years before the Ionian revolt, which began in 499.[15]

Aristagoras, regent of Miletos in the absence of the tyrant Histiaios, his father-in-law, met the members of his party (*stasiôtai*) to propose revolt from the Persians. Only Hekataios the historian opposed revolt, but failing to persuade the others present, advised them to make themselves masters of the sea, and in order to do so, to seize the treasures that Croesus had dedicated to Apollo at Didyma; for if they should not take them, the Persians were bound to rob the temple of its riches if victorious. The conspirators, however, refused to take Hekataios' advice, and so set out upon their enterprise. The cities of the Ionian League joined the Milesians, who were throughout the

14. Paktyes: Herod. 1.153–161; Crahay 1956: 99–102; Fontenrose 1978: 418–419. Glaukos: Herod. 6.86; Crahay 1956: 97–99; Fontenrose 1978: 118–119.

15. Paus. 2.10.5, 9.10.2; Pliny *NH* 34.8.75.

mainspring and core of the rebellion. The revolt ended in 494, when the Persians took Miletos.[16]

Didyma was not spared in the sack of Miletos. The Persians plundered and burned the temple of Apollo and carried off the treasures to Susa. Captive Milesians, mostly women and children, were moved into the interior of Asia and settled in Ampe at the head of the Persian Gulf, near where the combined Tigris and Euphrates empty into the sea. The Branchidai may have been among the transported Milesians, if all were not killed. At any rate, they disappear from history at this moment. The Oracle of Didyma was thereafter inactive for at least 160 years, and in that period the temple was not rebuilt.[17]

Darius was king of Persia in 494 when, as Herodotos tells us, Apollo's temple was completely plundered and destroyed. Yet later writers tell us that it was Xerxes who burned the temple in 479 when, after the Persian defeat at Mykale, he left Miletos and went back to Susa. The Branchidai, they say, then delivered the temple treasures to Xerxes and went inland with him, since they faced the vengeance of the Milesians; and Xerxes settled them in Sogdiana in a town that they called Branchidai. There Alexander, on his way to India, found their descendants and, when informed of their ancestors' treachery, in righteous wrath ordered that they be annihilated and that their town and sacred groves be completely destroyed.[18]

The story is an invention of the Alexander historians, probably Kallisthenes. Herodotos would surely have known about the treason of the Branchidai and would have mentioned it, if it really occurred: it was not the sort of event that he would have left unmentioned. Arrian, who depended on Ptolemy and Aristobûlos, the most trustworthy Alexander historians, says nothing about Alexander's destroying any such town in central Asia. Furthermore Xerxes was never in Miletos or Didyma; he left Greece in the fall of 480 after his defeat at Salamis, whence he went first to Sardis and thence to Susa. Again, as Haussoullier has said, the Branchidai could not deliver to Xerxes the treasures that Darius' generals had taken fifteen years ear-

16. Aristagoras' conference: Herod. 5.36. Ionian revolt: Herod. 5.35–54, 97–126, 6.1–21; Huxley 1966: 144–153.

17. Fall of Miletos: Herod. 6.18–21; Dunham 1915: 98–99; Hiller von Gaertringen 1932: 1596–1597; Huxley 1966: 151–152. Certainly not all Milesians were killed or taken captive; we find the city populated in 479. An inscribed *astragalos* (knucklebone) made of bronze, from the old Didymeion, a votive offering, was found at Susa; see *DI* 7.

18. Kallisthenes 124.14J *ap.* Strab. 17.1.43, 514; Strabo 11.11.4, 517–518; 14.1.5, 634; Curt. Ruf. *Alex.* 7.5.28–35; Plut. *Mor.* 557b; Suda B514. According to Paus. 1.16.3, 8.46.3, it was Xerxes who carried the bronze Apollo off to Ekbatana.

lier, and the temple burned in 494 could not be burned again in 479. The story assumes that after the fall of Miletos the temple at Didyma still stood untouched until 479 with all its treasures intact under the dominion of the Branchidai. Moreover, when the Persians could simply walk in and take the treasures, what need for the presiding priests to surrender them, as if the Persians could not have had them otherwise?[19]

Solely out of this story has arisen the belief that the Branchidai were Medizers (that is, collaborators with the Persians) and therefore incurred the ill will of the Milesians, so that when the Oracle of Apollo was reestablished, the Branchidai were not restored to the overlordship. There is no other evidence of either Milesian hostility to the Branchidai or their Medism, unless we make something of R38–39, their assent to the surrender of Paktyes to the Persians, if they be accepted as genuine responses of Didyma. Yet R38 may be no more than the usual sanction: when asked whether that was the better course to take, the Oracle replied that it was better (see p. 91). It is probable that there were no Branchidai available in 334–330: they had been killed in the capture of Miletos or had been taken off to Ampe, where they and the other Milesian captives were finally absorbed into the Asian population; or they had been scattered and had lost their identity as members of the priestly family.[20]

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19. See Haussoullier 1902: 291–294; Tarn 1922; Günther 1971: 19–20. But Hahland (1964: 143) believes that the Branchidai went to Persia in 479 and that Xerxes completed destruction of the temple. The story of Alexander's massacre of the Branchidai is accepted as historical by George Grote, *History of Greece*, ch. 94 (12.202–204 in Collier edition, New York, 1899); Gelzer 1869: 17–18; and J. M. Cook, *OCD* 340. There is no use in supposing that later writers confused Darius with Xerxes or that the Branchidai surrendered the treasures in 494 and were then removed to Sogdiana, or that descendants of Milesian captives were identified as Branchidai (see Haussoullier, Gelzer, *locc. cit.*); the story is patently false. For Xerxes' route from Thessaly to Susa see Herod. 8.115–120, 9.108.

20. For belief in the Branchidai's treason see Haussoullier 1902: 3, 291–294; Grote, Gelzer, Cook, Hahland, *locc. cit.* (note 19). In my dissertation (1933a: 16–20) I assumed that the Branchidai had Medized and had incurred Milesian hostility, and I made much of the supposition. Yet the Branchidai may very well have been anti-Persian. The Persians burned and robbed Apollo's temple, although in general they respected the sacred structures and institutions of their subject peoples. This unusual destruction of a sacred place could have been punishment for the priests' opposition to the Persians. It may be that Darius granted the right of asylum to Didyma; such was the Milesian claim under Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 3.63; see below). This grant may have been a pious invention of later times, but it has some support in what purports to be a letter of Darius Hystaspes found near Magnesia-on-Maeander, inscribed, however, in much later times (*IMagn* 115; *SIG* 22; *SGDI* 5736), perhaps in the first century A.D. (and so perhaps an invention too, made to impress the Roman Senate when it inquired into rights of asylum): in this letter Darius reproved the satrap Gadatas for profaning Greek sanctuaries and affirmed his concern for the inviolability of the gods' shrines. If Darius made such a grant to Didyma, he did so in 521–500.

494–334

After the destruction of the temple in 494 the Oracle of Didyma was silent for at least 160 years, as already mentioned. To Herodotos in the mid fifth century there had been (*ên*) a *manteion* at Didyma (1.157.3). But this does not mean that all cult activity ceased in Apollo's sanctuary. We have some evidence that customary rites were still observed. A Milesian inscription of about 100 B.C. records a cult law of the Molpoi (Singers), a prestigious Milesian cult association, whose president (*aisymnêtês*) was the stephanephor (crown-wearer), the eponymous official of the Milesian year. This ordinance, though obviously archaic and containing an addition made in 479/8, just after Mykale, had been first inscribed in 450/49. It provides for the periodic procession of the college of Molpoi from the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios in Miletos along the Sacred Way to Didyma, specifying ceremonies to be performed at several points on the way. Obviously there were rites of worship performed at Didyma after the Molpoi arrived there, but they are not explicitly prescribed in the ordinance aside from the placing of a *gyllos* (probably a basket of offerings) at the doors, probably of Apollo's temple (with reference to the sixth-century temple). Since the Milesians first inscribed the ordinance in 450/49, there can be no doubt that Didyma remained an active cult center throughout the intermediate period.[21]

The excavations at Didyma have revealed several pillar capitals, which, according to Hahland, belong to altar structures of the fifth century: two, he believes, were similar altars of Zeus and Leto, another that of Zeus Hyetios or Artemis Pythie, all in the adyton. Dated from the same period are votive statuettes of Zeus and Leto and a sphinx relief, probably from the wall of a structure that enclosed the sacred spring. A simple naiskos was constructed, a memorial of that which had sheltered Kanachos' Apollo.[22]

Some Milesian silver coins dated around 350 B.C. or a little earlier show the laureate head of Apollo on the obverse and a lion and star or sun on the reverse, which has the inscription ΕΓ ΔΙΔΥΜΩΝ ΙΕΡΗ, "sacred (drachma?) from Didyma." Though *drachmê* should be the understood noun, the coins are lighter than a drachma in weight. Perhaps, as C. M. Kraay has conjectured, these coins were struck at Didyma as souvenirs for visitors. In any case, there is no need to sup-

21. Molpoi inscription: *Milet* 1.3.133; see Kawerau-Rehm 1914: 277–284; Voigtländer 1972: 93–96.

22. See Hahland 1964; Voigtländer 1972; Tuchelt 1973: 100–102.

pose that the coins have been dated too early, since we now have sufficient evidence of continued cult activity at Didyma in the period from 494 to 334.[23]

Miletos, liberated from the Persian dominion in 479, soon became a member of the Delian League, which meant that Athens dominated the city along with the other Ionian member cities until 412, when Miletos and other cities revolted against Athens with Spartan and Persian help. The success of the revolt meant only a change of masters, Spartan for Athenian, and before 400 Miletos was again under Persian rule. Then until 334 Miletos was subject to the king of Persia or to the Carian dynasts Hekatomnos and Mausolos, who were formally satraps of the Persian king. In this period the government of Miletos favored Sparta, Persia, and the Carian dynasts.[24]

Hellenistic Didyma

After his victory at the Granikos in 334 Alexander accepted the submission of most Ionian cities, but Miletos resisted and forced the king to lay siege to the city. After taking it he treated the Milesians leniently and established a democratic government. Liberation from Persian rule and change to more popular government gave the Milesians a new spirit and marked the beginning of a new era for the city. Soon the Milesians began to plan revival of the Oracle and rebuilding of the temple at Didyma. By 331 the Oracle was again in operation, probably making use of the fifth/fourth-century naiskos. The sacred spring, which, according to Kallisthenes, had ceased to flow, now gushed forth again (that is, the spring was probably cleared of obstruction).[25]

The first pronouncements of the revived Oracle were probably those made in 331 in favor of Alexander. Kallisthenes, cited by Strabo, reported that Milesian envoys came to Alexander in Memphis, bringing many oracles concerning Zeus's begetting of Alexander, Alexander's future victory at Arbela, the death of Darius, and revolution in Sparta (R4). Since Kallisthenes, a contemporary, reported

23. Deppert-Lippitz 1984: 17; *BMGC*, Ionia, 189, nos. 51–52, pl. xxi.8; Colin M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), 258 with note 6.

24. See Dunham 1915: 101–119, 131–141; Hiller von Gaertringen 1932: 1598–1602; Voigtländer 1972: 93–96.

25. See Haussoullier 1902: 1–7; Dunham 1915: 119–120; Hiller von Gaertringen 1932: 1602. As we have noticed, there was a spring chamber in the fifth-century adyton. The cessation and renewal of flow may be Kallisthenes' fiction (see note 18), an insertion of the marvelous into the story to suit the oracular responses that he reported (R4).

these responses, they can be taken as mainly authentic: we can be sure that Didyma declared Alexander son of Zeus and probably ventured to predict victory over the Persians without specifying Arbela as the scene. With these responses the Didymaean priesthood and the Milesian government saw a means of pleasing Alexander and winning his support for the rebuilding of the temple. But Alexander was probably too busy with his campaigns to give his attention to the Milesians' project, and about thirty years would elapse before the Milesians could begin construction of the new Didymeion; for in the years following 334 they had heavy expenses, above all for repair of the city after siege, and also levies made by Alexander (Haussoullier 1902: 5–7).

The revived Oracle was no longer placed under the control of a single family as in the days of the Branchidai, but was now directly governed by the city. The presiding priest was called *prophêtês* and was a city magistrate, serving a term of one year. He was assisted by two *tamiai* (comptrollers, treasurers, stewards), who were also city officials, and by a board of *kosmoi,* who perhaps correspond to the Hosioi of Delphi (see chapter 3).

It was Seleukos Nikator who became the benefactor of Miletos and effectively helped the city begin the rebuilding of the temple. The Milesians had helped him to victory over Antigonos at Ipsos in 301. Two Milesian decrees of 299/8 show that he, Queen Apame, and his son, Antiochos, had already contributed greatly to the rebuilding of the Didymeion; and it was probably these benefactions that started the work of reconstruction. Antiochos provided funds for the building of a stoa for a market, the revenues from which would be used for the construction of the temple and perhaps of other buildings.[26]

Seleukos also rendered a great service to Miletos and the cult of Apollo Didymeus by restoring the Kanachos Apollo to the temple at Didyma, having it carried from Ekbatana back to Didyma. The image was placed in the naiskos, whence anyone in the east part of the adyton could see it through the open door. Again in 288/7 Seleukos and Antiochos sent a large number of votive offerings to Apollo Didymeus and other Didymaean deities.[27]

The Milesians planned to build a temple that would be nearly

26. *DI* 479, 480. The stoa was probably the east hall of the south market in Miletos; see H. Knackfuss, *Milet* 1.7, p. 44. On the benefactions of Seleukos Nikator to Didyma see Haussoullier 1902: 33–51; Günther 1971: 23–50; Voigtländer 1975: 29–31.

27. Return of Kanachos Apollo: Paus. 1.16.3, 8.46.3. Seleukid offerings: *DI* 424. See Günther 1971: 39–48; Voigtländer 1975: 30.

the largest and most imposing in the Greek world. According to Vitruvius the first architects were Paionios of Ephesos and Daphnis of Miletos: Mileti Apollini item ionicis symmetriis idem Paionius Daphnisque Milesius instituerunt, "at Miletos likewise, the same Paionios and the Milesian Daphnis began [construction of a temple] with Ionic proportions for Apollo" (*Arch.* 7, *praef.* 16). The *idem* refers to the previous sentence, in which we are told that Paionios and another architect completed the great temple of Artemis at Ephesos. This would have to be the Artemision built after 356, when the sixth-century temple was burned. This temple Paionios could have completed about 320, so that it is possible that he and Daphnis designed the new Didymeion some time before construction began upon it; and, since we know little about him, he could have been alive still in the 290s to supervise the beginnings of construction; we do not have to suppose that he began his work on the Artemision in 356.[28]

The work of construction went on for centuries. There were apparently long periods when no work was done at all, and in fact the building was never completely finished. Construction was still going on in the reign of Caligula (37–41), who wanted to complete the building. Much can be learned about the progress of construction from twenty-eight accounts inscribed in stone dating from around 250 to the end of the second century B.C. At the end of every year, it seems, the superintendent of construction drew up a detailed account of the work done during the year. It is probable that enough of the temple was completed by 250 so that it could be used for oracular consultations; in any case, work went on around the fifth-century naiskos, probably in use from 331 for cult purposes and oracular sessions. The first epigraphic records of responses made after the revival of the Oracle are dated 228/7 (R5, 6); there is no surviving epigraphic

28. Vitruvius' statement has given much trouble to scholars, since the famous Artemision was begun about 550 and reportedly completed in 120 years (Pliny *NH* 36.14.95). Hence some have supposed that Paionios lived around 430: Gelzer 1869: 19 wanted to date the beginning of construction of the new Didymeion in the reign of Darius Nothus (424–405), but that is now known to be impossible. Fabricius (*RE* 4.2147) supposed that Paionios worked on the archaic Didymeion; but then he could not have completed the archaic Artemision. If Paionios was an architect of the new Didymeion, the only solution is that proposed here. Voigtländer 1975: 14–28 uses the fourth-century dating of Paionios as one argument for a fourth-century beginning of construction of the new Didymeion, placing it even earlier than 334. See also Günther 1971: 37–38; Haussoullier 1902: 4. I have no objection to a fourth-century date, but all the inscribed construction accounts are dated between 250 and 100: *DI* 20–47. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Milesians' financial difficulties prevented any construction before about 300. Voigtländer (1975: 28) is forced to suppose a halt in construction between circa 320 and 300. See Strabo 14.1.5, 634 on the Didymeion as the largest Greek temple; cf. 14.1.40, 647.

record of an Historical response made between 331 and 228. In the second century A.D. probably only the finishing touches remained to be done in temple construction: no pediment or cornice was ever made, some of the usual ornamentation was never done, and one of the standing columns is unfluted; other columns remained unfluted too, as is evident from fallen drums.[29]

As for the large temple, so for the naiskos, the period of construction is disputed, with estimates ranging from a start in the late fourth century (after 334) to the middle of the third. No extant construction account, it appears, refers to it, and all that one can say is that the new naiskos was completed sometime in the third century B.C., replacing the humbler fifth-century structure or whatever makeshift building was previously in use.[30]

Until 190 the Seleukid kings continued to be benefactors of Didyma. For most of the period 300–190 they dominated Miletos; for brief periods the Ptolemies or the tyrant Timarchos held power over the city. In a letter to the Milesians, Seleukos II (246–225) refers to numerous benefactions that the Seleukids had bestowed on Miletos, which certainly included their services to the Didymaean sanctuary. The king mentions oracular responses spoken to or for Seleukid kings, probably not referring to the dubious R41–43, but to some, now lost, that honored the kings or perhaps sanctioned their enterprises; among these may have been oracles that proclaimed Seleukos I a son or descendant of Apollo and gave Antiochos II the name Theos. In his letter the king thanks the Milesians for sending him a sacred crown from the god's adyton; that is, it was made from the leaves of the bay trees that grew there.[31]

In 277/6 the Gauls invaded western Asia Minor and came into

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29. For construction accounts see *DI* 20–47; Haussoullier 1902: 158–192; Voigtländer 1975: 92–102. Haussoullier published many of the building-account inscriptions in eleven numbers of *Rev. Phil.* from 1898 to 1926 (vols. 22, 23, 29, 35, 43, 44, 49, 50). See Tuchelt 1973: 102–107. The temple stones show inscribed notations for construction; see *DI* 48, 49, pp. 68–97; Lothar Haselberger, "Werkzeichnungen am jüngeren Didymeion," *IM* 30 (1980): 191–215. Temple never completed: Paus. 7.5.4. Caligula's designs: Suet. *Gaius* 21; Dion Cass. 59.28.1. According to Strabo 14.1.5, 634 (see also Eust. *Il.* 2.647, 313), the temple had no roof because of its size. It was meant to be unroofed: it was an hypaethral temple, as had been the old Didymeion. Several hypaethral temples were built in Ionia: cf. the Heraion of Samos and the Artemision of Ephesos.

"Historical" as used here (always with capital H) means that a response has contemporary attestation. Three responses allegedly spoken to Seleukos Nikator (R41–43) are Quasi-Historical, i.e., first attested in a later period by someone born after the time when they were allegedly spoken (these by Appian, Diodoros, Libanios). For definitions see pp. 177–79 below and Fontenrose 1978: 7–9.

30. See Hahland 1964: 234; Tuchelt 1973: 16 note 3; Voigtländer 1975: 34–35.

Milesian territory. They apparently did not take the city, but they plundered Didyma, as we learn from an inscription, the sacred comptrollers' report for that year, which records a few valuable objects that the Gauls left in the shrines of Apollo Didymeus and Artemis Pythie; this means that most of the treasures, including Seleukid offerings, were carried off. A later comptrollers' report (275/4) records a bowl (*phialion*) "from the ransom money" (*ἀπὸ τῶν λύτρων*), which is interpreted to mean an offering purchased with ransom money received from the Gauls for release of captives taken by the Milesians. The heavy expenses that Miletos incurred at this time for defense against the Gauls and for repair of damages and losses surely meant more delays in the work of building the temple.[32]

Until about 200 Apollo Didymeus' festival, which included athletic and choral contests, had apparently been held every year. Near the end of the century the Milesians decided to convert it into a quadrennial panhellenic festival (called quinquennial in Greek inclusive reckoning). They presented their proposal to Apollo at Didyma and, not surprisingly, received his sanction, which approved both the enlarged agonistic festival (*agôn stephanitês*) and the Milesian invitation of all Hellenes to participate in it (R10). In either the same or another response the god proclaimed the sanctity and inviolability (*asylia*) of the Didymaean sanctuary. In taking this measure Miletos was following the example of Magnesia-on-Maeander, her neighbor and rival, and of Kos. After an alleged epiphany of Artemis Leukophryene, patroness goddess of the city, Magnesia consulted Delphi in 221/0, proposing a quinquennial isopythian festival, the Leukophryenia. The Pythian Apollo approved the proposal and also declared the Magnesian city and country inviolable (H45), whereupon Magnesia sent envoys to all Greek cities proclaiming the new games and asking for recognition of the city's right of asylum. The first celebration of the quinquennial Didymaean festival occurred in 207 or 203.[33]

It is probable that the Didymaean stadium was built in the earlier

31. Seleukos' letter: *DI* 493. On Seleukid relations with Miletos and Didyma in 261–190 see Haussoullier 1902: 72–151; Günther 1971: 51–95; also *SIG* 590.11–18 (see R10) on oracles spoken to Seleukid kings and on their benefactions to Didyma and recognition of the sanctuary's sanctity and asylum.

32. Inscriptions: *DI* 426, 428. See *DI* pp. 260–261; Günther 1971: 48–50. For Gauls at Miletos see Aristodemos of Nysa *ap.* Parthen. 8.1–2; Haussoullier 1902: 63–65.

33. Milesian proclamation: *SIG* 590, an inscription of Kos (see R10). Magnesian proclamation: *IMagn* 16 = *SIG* 557. In contrast to the numerous extant responses of Greek cities to the Magnesian invitation, almost all inscribed at Magnesia (*IMagn* 23–87), there survives only the above-cited Koan response to the Milesian invitation (but see p. 69, note 12); there is none among surviving Milesian and Didymaean inscriptions. See Günther 1971: 71, 81–85, 100–107.

part of the second century, soon after the institution of the enlarged festival, so that the contests and the spectators might have adequate facilities. It was built on the south side of the temple, and the south steps of the temple's *krêpidôma* served as the seats on the north side of the stadium.[34]

Roman Didyma

After the Romans defeated Antiochos III at Thermopylai and Magnesia-under-Sipylos in 191/0 they and the Attalids of Pergamon took over control of all Asia Minor west of the Tauros range. Miletos and other Ionian cities retained their autonomy, subject to Roman or Attalid overlordship, until 133, when, after Attalos III of Pergamon's bequest of his dominions to Rome, the Romans organized the province of Asia. Miletos and the other Greek cities of the east Aegean coast then became no more than cities of the province, and their governments henceforth were concerned only with municipal affairs. About 130 Miletos established a cult of the Demos of the Romans (Populus Romanus) and Roma, thus acknowledging subordination to Rome.[35]

Sometime in the first third of the first century B.C. the Cilician pirates plundered the Didymeion, as well as the temple of Apollo at Klaros and others. They carried off temple treasures, but apparently did no harm to the temple structure. Didyma had no more to fear from this source of danger after 67, when Pompey destroyed the pirates' fleet and strongholds.[36]

The Romans always held the Apollo of Didyma in high regard, and the sanctuary and Oracle thrived under Roman rule. About 84 B.C. the Romans took over the direction of the Didymaean festival, taking it from Miletos for having sided with Mithridates of Pontos. For about forty years thereafter the prophet's term began on the first day of the Roman year; that is, for this period the Didymaean calendar was different from the Milesian. In 64/3 the Romans restored the direction of the games to Miletos, but the prophet's term

34. Bericht 7: 40–41; Knackfuss 1941: 140–141.

35. See Haussoullier 1902: 153–154; Hiller von Gaertringen 1932: 1609–1611; *Milet* 1.7.203, inscription of the cult law establishing a priesthood of the Roman Demos and Roma and providing for regular sacrifices. On Roma in Miletos see Ronald Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ, The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World, Hypomnemata* 42 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 53–54.

36. Plut. *Pomp.* 24; Arnob. *Adv. nat.* 6.23, who is mistaken in saying that the pirates burned Apollo's temple. See Haussoullier 1902: 256.

remained coincident with the Roman calendar until 42/1. In 45 B.C. Julius Caesar increased the Didymaean asylum by two miles (we are not informed how this was done, whether an increase on all sides or otherwise). In the year 22 A.D. the Emperor Tiberius delegated to the Roman Senate the power to inquire into the rights of asylum claimed by Greek cities for their major sanctuaries. These claims were mostly made by Greek cities in Asia: every claim that Tacitus mentions in his account of this inquiry was made by a city of Asia Minor or Cyprus. Rights of asylum, it seems, were being abused; many sanctuaries had become refuges for criminals and debtors, and these populations were a danger to the public peace. The senate asked the cities that wished to justify their rights of asylum to send envoys provided with documents to Rome. Among these cities was Miletos, which cited a grant of asylum made by King Darius in the period before 494 (see note 20). A Didymaean inscription names one of the Milesian envoys, Meniskos Zopyros' son (Melas' son by adoption), a descendant of King Lykomedes of Cappadocia. Perhaps the grant of Darius was fictitious, but the Seleukids, beginning with Seleukos I, certainly recognized Didyma's *asylia*. So complicated was the business of judging the claims presented by a rather large number of cities that the senate referred the inquiry to the consuls, who were instructed to examine each claim and make a single report to the senate. We do not know what happened to the Milesian claim to *asylia* for Didyma, but it was apparently approved along with most other claims, though reduced in area, probably to the temenos limits; and Miletos, like the other cities, had to inscribe the senate's decree that fixed the terms of asylum upon a bronze tablet and place it in the temple.[37]

Under the Romans the Didymaean Apollo had another privilege. A Roman law of uncertain date prohibiting bequests to gods (meaning bequests to sanctuaries) made an exception of eight, among them Apollo Didymaeus at Miletos (Ulpian *Tit.* 22.6). Hence Didyma was allowed to inherit property in money. Another deity excepted was Artemis at Ephesos.

As already mentioned, the Emperor Caligula wanted to complete the building of the Didymeion. Dion Cassius (59.28.1) supposed that he wanted it as a temple for himself. As he tells it,

37. On Roman direction of the Didymeia and restoration to Miletos: *DI* 230 I, 367; p. 70 below. Caesar's grant: *DI* 391A II, 7–10. Inquiry of 22 A.D.: Tac. *Ann.* 3.60–63 (reference to Milesian claim in 3.63), *DI* 107.9–13. See Haussoullier (1902: 263–271), who mistakenly supposed that the Caesar who extended the area of asylum was Caligula; Hiller von Gaertringen 1932: 1615.

> Gaius (i.e., Caligula) ordered the province of Asia to set aside a temenos for himself in Miletos. He chose this city, giving as his reason that Artemis had already taken Ephesos, Augustus had taken Pergamon, and Tiberius had taken Smyrna, but in truth because he wanted to appropriate to himself the large and beautiful temple which the Milesians had built for Apollo.

Dion seems to have confounded Caligula's desire to complete Apollo's temple with his order that he be given a temenos in Miletos. In a Didymaean inscription (*DI* 148) dating from his reign, thirteen representatives of the province of Asia, designated *neopoioi* of the emperor's temple in Miletos, dedicated a statue of Caligula at Didyma. Taking Dion and the inscription together we perceive that the province of Asia on the emperor's order established Caligula's temenos and temple in Miletos. This is what Caligula wanted. He had no intention of taking over the Didymeion for his own cult; his supposed desire to do so is apparently no more than Dion's invidious invention.[38]

In 100/1 the Emperor Trajan improved the Sacred Way from Miletos to Didyma by cutting through hills and filling depressions, thus grading the road, which had been difficult for pilgrims where it crossed the hills. He had milestones set up with bilingual inscriptions that recorded the building of the road; that inscribed on the milestone nearest the temenos gate of Didyma survives. A longer inscription in Latin and Greek was cut at both the south gate of the city and at the temenos gate.[39]

In contrast to the Delphic Oracle the Oracle at Didyma remained fairly vigorous in the third and fourth centuries. From Delphi we have only two authentic responses (one not certainly Delphic) surviving from the third century, none from the fourth; five others dated to this period are spurious. From Didyma there survive nine authentic responses from these two centuries (at least one from the fourth), and two that are spurious (both assigned to the fourth century); nine others, dubious or spurious, may have been supposedly spoken after 200. The Asian Oracles, Didyma and Klaros, were much more active in late antiquity than was Delphi. Around 200 Clement of Alexandria

38. Suet. *Gaius* 21; Dion Cass. 59.28.1. Caligula's alleged reason for choosing Miletos also looks like a fiction of either Dion or his source. See Robert 1949, especially 211–212, 220. On Caligula's cult and *DI* 148 see below, p. 169.

39. *DI* 55–57; *CIL* 3 suppl. 7150, 14195 (43). Only the Latin text has been found at the Miletos gate. See Haussoullier 1902: 281–287; Tuchelt 1973: 25–28. For building activity in the Roman imperial period see Tuchelt 1973: 107–110. Hadrian visited Miletos and Didyma in 129, where he received quasi-divine honors; see pp. 170–71.

exulted that the Oracles of Didyma, Delphi, and Klaros had ceased to function, but he was surely taking his wish for the fact.[40]

In 262/3 Didyma suffered for the fourth time from foreign invaders. This time it was the Goths who attacked Ionian cities. They destroyed the great temple of Artemis at Ephesos, a disaster that indirectly saved Didyma; for as soon as the Milesians heard of the Goths' attack on Ephesos, they made haste to fortify the Didymeion, and so were ready to defend it against the Goths. They placed stone bulwarks, the remains of which are still visible, across the temple front between the columns of the pronaos. The Goths did not take the temple or inflict any damage on it, and they could not take Miletos because of its advantageous position. We learn of the Goths' attack from three inscribed epigrams found in the adyton, which poetically call them Scythians. These epigrams inform us that the defenders' water supply failed, threatening them with a choice between surrender and death from thirst. But a miracle occurred: a spring began to flow, the defenders were relieved, and the Goths gave up the siege. The first epigram begins,

> Τὸ θαῦμα τοῦτο πρόσθε μὲν τοῦ Πυθίου
> πηγὴ βλύσασα νάμασιν χρυσορρύτοις
> αὐτοῦ ταγαῖσιν, ἡνίκ' Ἄρης βάρβαρος
> συνέκλεισεν ἀστοὺς, οὓς πικρᾷ τετρυμένους
> δίψῃ διέσωσε τήνδ' ἀναπτύξας φλέβα
> τανὺν δὲ Φήστου συνθρόνου χρύσης δίκης.
>
> [Epigram I 1–6]

This wonder was first the Pythian's, a spring gushing forth with gold-flowing waters at his own orders, when barbarous Ares hemmed the townsmen in; when they were suffering from bitter thirst, he delivered them by opening up a vein. Now it is the wonder of Festus, consort of golden justice.

The third begins,

> Εἰμὶ μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος ὕδωρ, ναιέταισι δὲ δῶρον
> δῶκέ με Χρυσολύρης ἐν Σκυθικῷ πολέμῳ
> ἡνίκα δὴ περὶ νηὸν ἐπιρρείσαντος Ἄρηος
> αὐτὸς ὁ Λητοΐδης σῶζεν ἑοὺς ἱκέτας.
>
> [Epigram III 1–4]

40. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2.1, 10P; see Buresch 1889: 40. Origen *Contra Cels.* 1.70, 384, and Porphyry *Epist. ad Aneb.* 14 refer to an active Didymaean Oracle in the third century A.D.

I am Apollo's water; the god of the golden lyre made a gift of me to those resident here in the Scythian war. When Ares pressed hard around the temple, Leto's son himself saved his suppliants.

About 287 the consul Festus enclosed the spring in a stone chamber, after its flow had begun to fail again, and thus preserved it. We should notice that Apollo is called the Pythian in the first epigram. In the fourth quarter of the third century the Apollo of Delphi had so much become the symbol of oracle-speaking that even a poet celebrating the Apollo of Didyma could call him Pythian.[41]

The spring of the epigram is the sacred mantic spring of Apollo's adyton. If that had been flowing, there would have been a water supply for the defenders. The poets present it as an entirely new spring that Apollo produced miraculously, but the first epigram makes it fairly clear that this was the oracular spring:

ἀστοὺς δὲ νυμφείοισι διασώζει ῥοαῖς,
κοινωνίαν μιμούμενος τὴν Δελφικὴν
πρὸς Κασταλίαν. νύμφαις φιλὴ γὰρ μαντικὴ
δι' ὧν προφήταις πνεῦμα θεῖον ἄρδεται.

[Epigram I 9–12]

And [Festus] preserves the townsmen with nymphean flows, reproducing the Delphic association with Kastalia. For the mantic art is dear to nymphs, through whom a holy spirit is watered for prophets.

It would appear that the sacred spring had ceased to flow earlier in the third century. During the Gothic siege the defenders dug down to a flow of water and cleared the spring's channels. This was the miracle; it would be too much to suppose a coincidence of new flow just in the time of siege and growing thirst. What Festus provided was a new well structure.

Near the end of its days the Didymaean Oracle played a part in the last persecution of the Christians. In 303 the Emperor Diocletian sent an emissary (an *haruspex*, says Lactantius) to Apollo at Didyma, where the god sanctioned the proposal for persecution (R33: respondit ille ut divinae religionis inimicus, "He [Apollo] answered as an enemy of divine religion").

Diocletian's persecution failed, as we all know. Constantine, espousing Christianity, defeated Licinius and became sole emperor in 324; thereafter, except for Julian's brief reign (361–363), Christianity

41. *DI* 159 = Bericht 8: 22.

dominated the Roman Empire. Constantine's son, Constantius II, issued an edict closing temples and forbidding sacrifices. This was probably ineffective and not well enforced; and it was abrogated by Julian, who tried to revive paganism and discourage Christian worship. When Julian learned that Christian houses of prayer in honor of martyrs had been built or were under construction near the Didymeion, he ordered the prefect of Caria to burn them down if roofed, to raze them if incomplete. Julian himself became prophet of the Didymaean Apollo, although it is unlikely that he ever presided over a mantic session. But as holder of that office he no doubt included Didyma along with Delphi, Delos, and Dodona among the Oracles that he consulted when planning his invasion of the Persian kingdom, and from which he received a favorable response (R56, Q262).[42]

This is the last we hear of Apollo's Oracle at Didyma. It unquestionably lasted until 363, but not for long thereafter. In 391 an edict of Theodosius, Valentinian II, and Arcadius closed all oracular temples and forbade all divination. About 400 an edict of Honorius and Arcadius closed all pagan temples and forbade sacrifices at any time and place. These edicts were not completely effective: we know that pagan worship continued sub rosa, and sometimes more or less openly, in the empire until 529 at the earliest. But probably the Oracle and cult of Apollo Didymeus came to a complete end sometime in the decade 390–400, if not earlier. The Christians succeeded in destroying what Persians, Gauls, Cilician pirates, and Goths had failed to destroy.[43]

Christian and Muslim Didyma

After taking over Didyma, the Milesian Christians built a basilica in the adyton of Apollo's temple; the naiskos was incorporated as the western section. This church was the seat of the bishop of Hieron (Sanctuary, Holy Place), the name of Didyma under the Byzantine Empire. The fortification across the front of the temple remained; the

42. Constantius' decree: Cod. Theod. 16.10.4; Cod. Just. 1.11.1. Houses of prayer: Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 5.20, 211–212. Julian as prophet: Jul. *Epist.* 451bc. The mention of Delos is probably due to Theodoretos' (*Hist. eccl.* 3.16.21) ignorance of oracular sites and arises from a mistaken notion in late antiquity that there was a great Oracle of Apollo on Delos; the belief probably had its source in Virg. *Aen.* 3.80–101; see also Lucian *Bis acc.* 1. Delos perhaps had a minor local Oracle of Glaukos and the Nereids. See Laidlaw 1933: 18–20. A Milesian inscription honored Julian as *trophos* (nurse, fosterer) of Apollo Didymeus: Haussoullier 1902: 288. It is possible that oracular activity at Didyma lapsed sometime after 324 and that Julian restored it in 361.

43. Theodosius' edict: Cod. Theod. 16.10.9; Cod. Just. 1.11.2. Honorius' and Arcadius' edict: Cod. Theod. 16.10.13.

temple east of the adyton became in fact a fortress, called *to kastron* in a late tenth-century inscription (*DI* 597), which records its repair undertaken by Michael, the commandant. There had been a severe earthquake, which damaged the fort and destroyed the church. To replace the church a smaller structure was built, probably in the late tenth century. Perhaps it was the earthquake that caused a fire which burned the wooden buildings in the pronaos, damaging the upper part of the wall behind it and causing the marble panels of the coffered ceiling to fall. There were houses in the adyton and also a graveyard.[44]

Miletos remained under Byzantine rule until the early fourteenth century, when it was taken by Seljuk Turks, who were soon replaced by the Ottoman Turks. Since then it has been in Turkish territory, a Turkish village called Akköi and then an excavation site. Didyma/Hieron became Ieronda (Jeronda, Yeronda), a Greek village until the exchange of populations after 1923, now a Turkish village, Didim-Yenihisar.[45]

In 1446 Ciriaco di Ancona visited Didyma and saw the temple of Apollo still standing; he was the first of several European visitors before 1800. An earthquake in 1493 threw the temple into ruins, felling every column except three. Occasional western European travelers visited Didyma in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The London Society of Dilettanti sent an expedition to Greece and Asia Minor in 1765 under Richard Chandler to study the monuments, measure them, and make drawings. As one result of this study Chandler wrote the first archaeological report on Didyma. In 1812 the Dilettanti sent another expedition under Sir William Gell, which visited Didyma among other sites. Didyma was also visited in 1812 by C. R. Cockerell, in 1835 by Charles Texier, and in 1843/44 by Philippe Le Bas, who made copies of inscriptions. In 1857/58 Charles T. Newton made excavations along the Sacred Way near the Apollo sanctuary, and in 1858 he had the large seated figures of sixth–century sculpture—the Chares group, which sat beside the Sacred Way near the temenos entrance—transported to the British Museum, where the visitor may still see them. In 1872/73 Olivier Rayet and Albert Thomas made some excavations at the Didymeion itself, and in 1895/96 E. Pontremoli and Bernard Haussoullier conducted an excavation there.

44. Byzantine inscriptions: *DI* 596–615; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11/12 (Paris, 1960): 490–495. See Bericht 8: 9–11, 24–25; Hiller von Gaertringen 1932: 1619–1620; L. Robert, *op. cit.* 495–504; Knackfuss 1941: 11–45; Tuchelt 1984b: 8.

45. For the Seljuk occupation see Bericht 8: 25; Hiller von Gaertringen 1932: 1620.

But these excavations were seriously hampered by a windmill which sat on a huge heap of rubble that filled the eastern part of the temple (partly above the formerly roofed hall between pronaos and adyton), and whose owners would not sell it to excavators. The Berlin Museum acquired the French rights in 1905 (having begun excavations at Miletos in 1899), bought the windmill, and removed it. Excavations under Theodor Wiegand's direction proceeded until the outbreak of war in 1914. Since the war, excavations have been carried on sporadically until the present. Since the Second World War the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut has conducted excavations and explorations at Miletos and Didyma.[46]

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46. On Ciriaco's visit see Hiller von Gaertringen 1932: 1620. On later visits and explorations see Society of Dilettanti, *Ionian Antiquities*, Vol. 1 (London, 1769), 27–53, Vol. 4 (1881), 13–15; C. T. Newton, *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae*, Vol. 2 (London, 1863), 527–553; Rayet-Thomas 1885: 25–81; Pontremoli-Haussoullier 1904; Hiller von Gaertringen 1932: 1620–1621. For the German excavations and their results see Berichte 6–8 and Bibliography under Drerup, Fehr, Gruben, Günther, Hahland, Knackfuss, Rehm-Harder, Tuchelt, Voigtländer, Wiegand.

II

Temenos and Temple

THE SACRED WAY

The cult-ordinance of the Molpoi, dating from the fifth century B.C., mentions points along the road from Miletos to Didyma at which the college of Molpoi made stops for sacrifices and hymn-singing when they marched over it periodically on their way to Didyma. From the gate on the south wall of the city they went over flat land to a height (*akron*), and from there through a wood (*drymos*). In a meadow (*leimôn*) on the height they sang hymns to the nymphs. Thereafter they made stops at three unidentified places and finally at the Chares group of statues, which lined the Sacred Way before the temenos limits of Didyma.[1]

Karl Wiegand and other German archaeologists engaged in the excavations of Miletos and Didyma traced the Sacred Way for most of its course, finding long stretches of it. The height mentioned in the Molpoi inscription is To Psychiko on the ridge of Stephania, the range of hills that crosses the Milesian peninsula from west to east. According to Wiegand, the halt in a meadow for singing hymns to the nymphs occurred before the Molpoi reached the highest point on their way. The road then went over gradually descending upland for about four and a half kilometers to a ravine called Dyo Bryseis (Two Springs) and then went southward down the ravine and around the

1. *Milet* 1.3.133.25–31. See p. 75.

hill of St. Constantine to reach the sea at Panormos or just north of it. From Panormos it ran about three and a half kilometers southeastward to Didyma, where after going through the temenos gate it finally ended at the entrance to the enclosure of Apollo's temple. The total length of the Sacred Way was 16.4 kilometers or eleven Roman miles, and it was apparently paved over its whole course. The width varies from four to seven meters.[2]

About three hundred meters north of Apollo's temple the Sacred Way reached the boundary of the Didymaean temenos. From the first, no doubt, there was some kind of gate or entrance structure. About 100 A.D., probably when Trajan had the Sacred Way repaired, a gate, perhaps in the form of an arch, was built (called *Strassentor* in the excavation reports); the foundations of this structure were uncovered in 1907. Evidence for an earlier entrance structure may be the reference in the Molpoi inscription to gates (*thyrai*) at Didyma in the fifth century B.C., but the word may mean the entrance to Apollo's enclosure or the temple door (*Milet* 1.3.133.26–27). From the temenos entrance the Sacred Way ran southeastward for about two hundred meters to a point about 150 meters north of the northwest corner of Apollo's temple; thence its course bent eastward, finally curving around to the entrance on the east side of the temple enclosure. The German Institute's excavations of 1975–1979 uncovered about eighty-five meters of the Sacred Way within the temenos. It is about five meters wide in this section. The earliest road dates from the archaic period, seventh or sixth century. In the first century B.C. this part of the Sacred Way was reconstructed. The new construction included a portico on the west side of the road and a series of rooms that opened upon it. These rooms may have been shops or storage, or may have been attached to the sanctuary of Artemis behind them (see p. 124). There were also structures on the east side. Such structures probably lined the Sacred Way from early times and certainly from no later than the third century B.C.; for Hellenistic foundations were uncovered in the recent excavations.[3]

2. See Map 2. On the whole Sacred Way see Wiegand 1929: 6–10; "Vierter vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen zu Milet," *SBA* (1905): 546–548; Haussoullier 1921; Mayer 1932: 1650–1651; Tuchelt 1984b: 3. The Milesians called the road by this name, *hiera hodos*, *DI* 40.11–12, 57.12–13, 280A.9. The writers cited use the Greek names of peaks, hills, ravines, etc., and I follow their nomenclature. The Turkish names are unknown to me and unavailable.

3. On the Sacred Way within the temenos see Tuchelt 1973: 16–18, 1980: 102–121, 1984a: 214–225, 1984b: 3; Wiegand, Bericht 7: 35–37; Haussoullier 1902: 154–156; Knackfuss 1941: 156–159. On the temenos gate see Wiegand, Bericht 7: 37; Knackfuss 1941: 156–157.

TEMENOS

The temenos of Apollo Didymeus and his companion deities embraced the whole area of asylum (excluding Caesar's extension) and enclosed the village of Didyma. From Strabo we learn that *κώμης γοῦν κατοικίαν ὁ τοῦ σηκοῦ περίβολος δέδεκται καὶ ἄλσος ἐντός τε καὶ ἐκτὸς πολυτελές· ἄλλοι δὲ σηκοὶ τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συνέχουσιν*, "the circuit of the *sêkos* encloses a settlement of a village and an expensive grove both inside and outside. Other *sêkoi* enclose the Oracle and the shrines" (14.1.5, 634). Here I have left the word *sêkos* untranslated. It means "enclosure," usually a sacred enclosure. Strabo may mean the whole area of asylum, the enclosure of Apollo's temple, or just the temple of Apollo. It is impossible that there could have been a village inside the temple in Strabo's time, although the hypaethral adyton was large enough for several houses (there were no residential structures in it before the Gothic siege of 262/3, and residential use of the temple except in a time of emergency is surely unthinkable). And no foundations of houses have been found within a hundred meters of Apollo's temple. Hence Strabo must be understood to mean the whole area of asylum, Didyma itself (except for some residences and a grove outside the temenos limits), although it appears that he confused the whole temenos with the *sêkos* of the Didymeion. Several Didymaean inscriptions indicate a threefold division of the population of Didyma: (1) the cult administration (*οἱ περὶ τὸ μαντεῖον πάντες*), (2) the residents in the temenos (*οἱ τὸ ἱερὸν κατοικοῦντες*), and (3) the neighbors, *proschôroi,* presumably those who lived outside the temenos limits on secular lands. There was probably no wall around the whole temenos, although we have noticed a gate where the Sacred Way entered the temenos. The limits were marked by boundary stones (*horoi*), several of which have been found.[4]

Within the great temenos of Didyma, Apollo's temenos in the widest sense, were situated the sanctuaries (*sêkoi, hiera,* or smaller *temenê*) of the Didymeion (Apollo's great temple), and of several of Apollo's companion deities. Artemis Pythie, Zeus Soter, Angelos, and Phosphoros had sanctuaries or *temenê* at Didyma, and no doubt

4. See Bericht 7: 37; Knackfuss 1941: 156–160; Tuchelt 1973: 18–32, 92–98. Inscriptions concerning inhabitants: *DI* 394, 395; see also 390B II, 392, 393, 396, 399–401. *Horoi*: *DI* 65–71; Tuchelt 1973: 24–25, 28–29. Tuchelt (30–31, 90) appears to take Strabo's *sêkou peribolos* for only Apollo's sanctuary, but that did not enclose a village.

there were others (e.g., Leto). As Strabo tells us, other *sêkoi* enclosed the *manteion* and the shrines of other gods. His "other" appears to distinguish these *sêkoi* from the *sêkos* that encloses a village, by which he means Apollo's temenos, whether in the larger or smaller sense. Hence he appears to distinguish the *manteion* from the Didymeion. Rehm supposed that he meant the chresmographion or the prophet's house; Hahland thinks that he meant an enclosure around the sacred spring (*Quellsekos*). It seems to me more likely that Strabo was not well informed about Didyma and its sanctuaries, and apparently never visited the place, and so wrote a confused description. Since the whole village was called Naos (Temple), he seems to have confounded the whole temenos with the Didymeion.[5]

The sacred grove lay immediately to the west, northwest, and southwest of Apollo's temple. No evidence of buildings adjoining the temple has been found in this section, and so in all likelihood this ground was covered with trees. The village, insofar as remains of houses have been found, lay between the temple and the temenos gate and to the west of the grove. How far south of the Didymeion the temenos extended is still unknown. Perhaps in that direction lay sanctuaries of other gods; but, as will be seen in chapter 7, the sanctuary (and temple?) of Artemis Pythie was situated to the northwest of Apollo's temple. Besides temples, village, and grove, the temenos contained altars, statues, public buildings, shops, baths, porticos, and stone benches (*exedrai*).[6]

THE ARCHAIC TEMPLE

As already noticed, the archaic temple was constructed in the second half of the sixth century B.C. The principal remains are the foundations of the north, south, and west walls of the adyton, marble tiles, fragments of column drums, capitals, and architrave blocks. These finds reveal a dipteral colonnade of Ionic order resting on a

5. See Tuchelt 1973: 30–31, 94–96, 98–99; Rehm *DI* p. 322; Hahland 1964: 231–232. For Didyma called Naos see *DI* 297.3–4, 312.20: the women from Naos; see Rehm on *DI* 297. The article is absent before *NAOU*; hence "women from the temple" is not meant.

6. On the grove see Tuchelt 1973: 92–94. It is mentioned in *DI* 140.8; Callim. 229.10 Pf.; Strabo *loc. cit.* My description necessarily presents the temenos in its latest period, second to fourth centuries A.D., when it contained the maximum number of buildings and monuments. But in its earliest period the temenos held Apollo's temple and altar, shrines of other deities, village, and probably a grove and other structures.

two-step *krêpidôma* (platform) and enclosing a naos that consisted entirely or mostly of an hypaethral adyton. Otherwise there is no certainty about the length and breadth of the structure as a whole or of the naos in particular, or about column height, number of columns, and interior plan. Archaeologists who have studied the remains have arrived at three different reconstructions, one of which must be rejected in view of more recent finds.

The surviving foundations of the archaic adyton walls are thirty-three meters in length on the north and south sides and about nineteen meters on the west side, indicating an adyton width of sixteen or seventeen meters. Knackfuss and Gruben believed that the north and south walls extended about seventeen meters farther to the east, and that the east wall had a door that gave access to steps which descended to the adyton floor. They supposed that the holy-water font of the later Byzantine church rose from the sacred spring of the ancient temple, which would have to be about twenty-one meters east of the naiskos. But we know now that the sacred spring was much nearer to the naiskos; and the excavations of 1962 showed that the foundation walls of the archaic adyton extended no farther east than the visible remains.[7]

Since the east side of the adyton is approximately the line that joins the two east ends of the wall foundations (including a flight of steps), the question arises whether this line also marks the west wall of the pronaos (forecourt) at the level of the stylobate, or a roofed chamber intervened between pronaos and adyton (or rather the flight of steps descending to the adyton floor about two meters below) as in the Hellenistic temple.

Tuchelt adopts the former reconstruction. He supposes a three-aisled pronaos with two rows of columns, four in each row, thus modifying the two rows of six columns each in Gruben's longer pronaos (in postulating a three-aisled pronaos Gruben and Tuchelt follow the model of archaic Ionic temples of Ionia such as the Artemision of Ephesos and the two temples of Hera at Samos). The pronaos gave access directly to the adyton stairway through a door in its west wall; the total naos length was about fifty-nine meters. As against Gruben's

7. See Knackfuss 1941: 121–129; Gruben 1963: 83–94, figs. 1, 5. See Drerup 1964: 364–367: no eastward extension of adyton walls. Since the plan of the archaic Didymeion is uncertain, I offer no illustration of it. See the plans of Gruben, Tuchelt, and Fehr as cited in notes 7–9. Map 3, the plan of the later Didymeion, may serve the reader as a guide to my description of the proposed reconstructions of the archaic temple, since it was built on similar lines.

reconstruction of a *krêpidôma* about eighty-nine meters long, carrying a double row of columns with twenty-one in each row on the sides, eight in each front row, six in each back row, 102 columns in all, Tuchelt has a *krêpidôma* about seventy-two meters long, carrying a double row of columns, seventeen in each row on the sides, front and back rows as in Gruben's plan, eighty-six columns in all. Both Gruben and Tuchelt suppose an intercolumnar spacing of 4.36 meters, which expresses the normal proportion of lower diameter of outer columns to intercolumnar spacing (as determined from measurements of surviving drum and base fragments). Gruben thus determines the stylobate length, supposing that the archaic Didymeion had twenty-one columns in each side row as in the Hellenistic temple. The column height, as Gruben calculates it from normal proportions of lower column diameter to height, was nearly 15.5 meters.[8]

Contrary to Gruben and Tuchelt, Fehr reconstructs a chamber between pronaos and adyton as in the Hellenistic Didymeion, reasonably concluding that the later structure was built on a plan very similar to that of the sixth-century temple, but on a much larger scale. As in the Hellenistic temple, the floor of the chamber was nearly 1.5 meters above the level of the pronaos, with an opening on the east side not accessible from the pronaos. Since the later temple has a five-aisled pronaos with four east-west rows of three columns each and an anta length of about one-sixth of the length of the naos walls, and since the eastern limit of the adyton is determined by the surviving foundations of the walls, the intervening chamber had to be proportionately larger, about one-fourth of the naos length (about fifty-nine meters) instead of one-fifth. Hence it could not have been a single room with two columns at the center. Fehr supposes not only a chamber with two columns in the middle, proportionately smaller than the later chamber, but also an antechamber with two central columns on the west side and a hall between chamber and antechamber. As in the later temple, vaulted corridors ran from pronaos to adyton on the north and south sides of the naos; then a flight of nine steps rose from adyton to antechamber, open on the west side. A single door gave access to the hall from the antechamber, and two doors to the chamber from the hall. On the north and south sides of the hall were flights of steps leading to upper rooms. The *krêpidôma* was seventy-two meters long, as in Tuchelt's reconstruction, but had 108 columns

8. Tuchelt 1970: 203–205, 1973: 14–15, fig. 3, 1984b: 7, fig. 7. See Gruben 1963: 153–159, figs. 38, 39, on column height.

in the double colonnade, as in the later Didymeion, decastyle, with twenty-one columns in each row on the sides. The intercolumnar spacing was 3.27 meters.[9]

To decide between Tuchelt's and Fehr's reconstructions is beyond my competence, but I consider it very probable that the new Didymeion was built on the plan of the archaic temple, and so I am inclined to favor Fehr's reconstruction in its principal lines; but his complex roofed structure between pronaos and adyton is too conjectural for ready acceptance.

There were five pilasters on the north and south walls of the adyton, inner side, spaced about six meters apart. A small inner temple, the naiskos, stood in the western part of the adyton, roughly fifteen meters long and five meters wide. Gruben and Fehr believe that it was built at the same time as the archaic temple, that is, after 550 B.C., for the purpose of holding the image of Apollo, and that the Kanachos Apollo replaced the original Apollo figure. Drerup and Tuchelt offer good reasons, however, for dating it earlier, perhaps about 575, despite the circumstance that its position is not symmetrical to the walls of the early *sêkos,* the first temple; for its north wall is very close to the north wall of the *sêkos,* and the walls of the naiskos are equidistant on both sides from the walls of the archaic adyton. It may be that the naiskos was intended for the temple that would replace the *sêkos* and was built first; then perhaps the beginning of construction of the Didymeion was delayed for about a quarter-century.[10]

Corner columns of the peristyle of the archaic Didymeion were decorated with reliefs of *korai* (maidens) above the base. The architraves were decorated with Gorgon and lion reliefs. In front of the temple stood the great ash altar within a low circuit wall (see below).

THE HELLENISTIC TEMPLE

The temple which the Milesians began to build after 330 B.C. was conceived on a grand plan. They wanted to build a temple that would equal any other in size and magnificence, and succeeded in building the third-largest; it is exceeded only by the Heraion of Samos and the

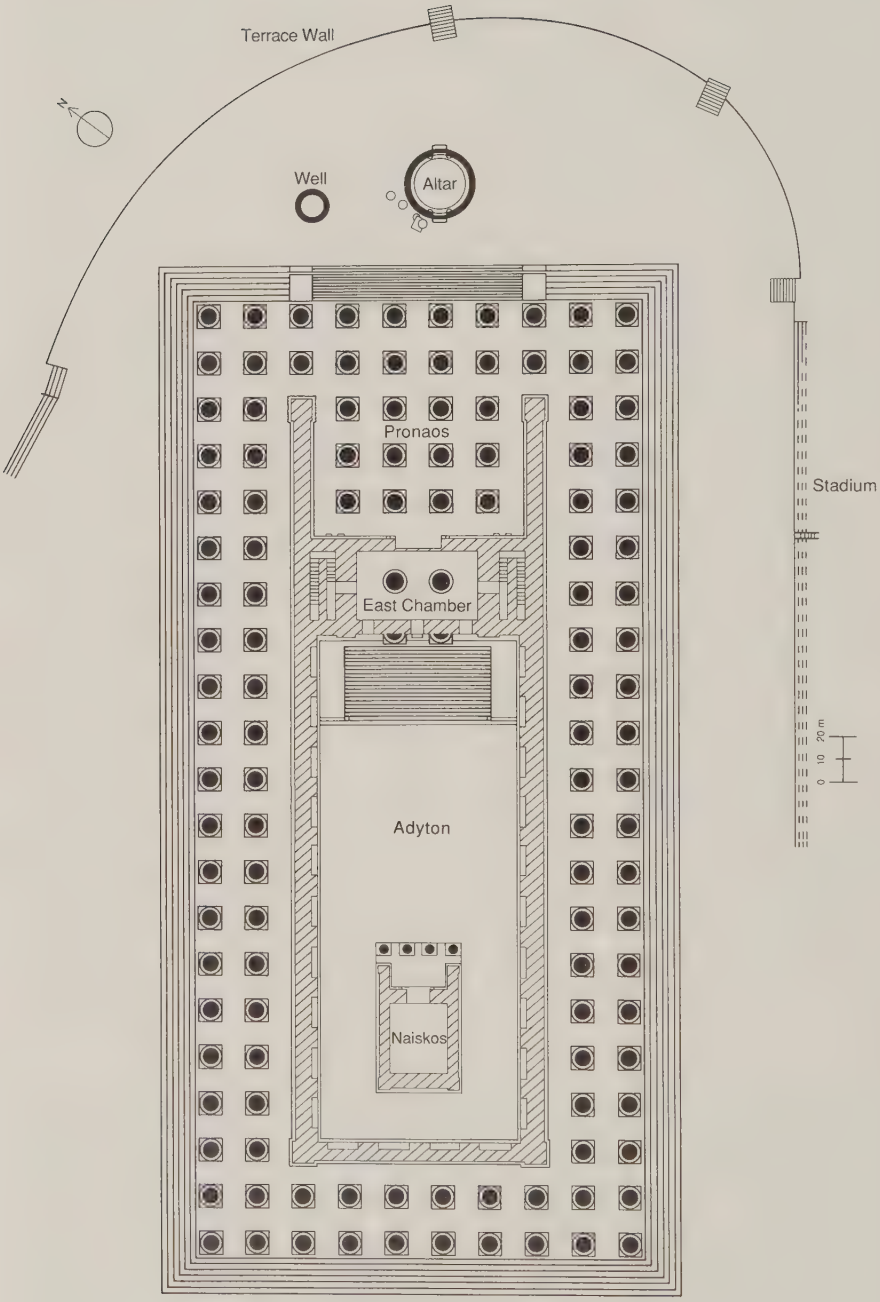
9. Fehr 1972: 16–29. Fehr (42–54) sees Persian influence upon the plans of the archaic and Hellenistic temples. They were built on the *apadana* plan and so differed from other Ionian temples. The Persian influence on Milesian architecture dates from the time of Cyrus the Great.

10. See Knackfuss 1941: 127–128; Gruben 1963: 100–102; Drerup 1964: 362–363; Tuchelt 1970: 197–203, 1973: 14; Fehr 1972: 56–59.

Artemision of Ephesos (one of the seven wonders of the world). Ionia was a land of huge temples; besides those just mentioned there were the temple of Apollo at Klaros, the Artemision of Magnesia-on-Maeander, and, just outside Ionia, the Artemision of Sardis. The total length of the Didymeion, measured along the bottom course of the *krêpidôma* at the euthynteria, is approximately 118 meters, the total width about sixty meters. The stylobate is 109.34 meters long, 51.085 meters wide; the column height measures 19.7 meters. The Artemision of Ephesos had a total length of 125.16 meters and a width of 64.79 meters; its stylobate measured about 112 by 55 meters, and its column height 18.4 meters. These measurements show that the stylobate surface of the Artemision is greater. If one measures from the axes of corner columns, the dimensions of the Didymeion come to 107.75 by 48.55 meters, those of the Artemision to 107.11 by 50.48 meters; hence the Didymeion has nearly as great a perimeter at the outer colonnade. Within the colonnade the temple walls of the Didymeion, including the anta walls, measure close to 87.5 meters in length, 29.2 meters in breadth; those of the Artemision measure approximately seventy-one by twenty-three meters. Hence the naos, the temple proper, of the Didymeion is much larger.[11]

The *krêpidôma* of the Didymeion consists of seven courses of stones, each of the upper six being shorter than the course beneath, resulting in seven steep steps on each side except in front (east side), where the *krêpidôma* steps are broken by a flight of thirteen shorter steps flanked by stone division walls (*Wangenbauten*) on the axes of the north and south walls of the naos (Figs. 1–3, 5). The colonnade is dipteral, as has been said, of Ionic order, with twenty-one columns in each row along the north and south sides, ten in each row across the front and rear, making 108 columns in the peristyle, three of which are still standing; with twelve columns in the pronaos there are 120

11. On the plan, architecture, and construction details of the Hellenistic temple see Knackfuss 1941: 46–120; Van Essen 1946; Voigtländer 1975; Bericht 7: 43–62; Bericht 8: 9–17, 20–21; Mayer 1932: 1652–1653; Bean 1966: 234–243; Tuchelt 1984b: 6; W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (New York: Biblo & Tannen, 1973), 229–233. For plans see Map 3 and Knackfuss 1941: 3.8, Z146; Fehr 1972: fig. 3. For dimensions of the later Artemision of Ephesos see Anton Bammer, *Die Architektur des jüngeren Artemision von Ephesos* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1972), 8–13, 27–28, figs. 5–7. For the seven wonders see Antipater of Sidon, Anth. Pal. 9.58; Hyg. *Fab.* 223. According to Strabo 14.1.5, 634 the Didymeion was the largest temple of all; this is not quite true, but the Didymeion, the Samian Heraion, and the Artemisia of Ephesos, Magnesia-on-Maeander, and Sardis are all huge, and the largest is not much larger than the smallest, however the sizes are measured. The naos of the Didymeion is apparently larger than any other.



3. Plan of Apollo's Temple at Didyma

exterior columns in all (Figs. 1–5, 8; Map 3). Some column bases in the front row (east side) are dodecagonal with decorated panels, some of which have a Triton-and-Nereid design. The capitals were also decorated. On the front corner capitals the volutes are replaced by sculptured heads. The forepart (*protomê*) of a griffin replaces the outer volute; the opposite volute consists of two gods' heads, Apollo's (front) and Zeus's (rear) on the southeast corner capital (and probably Artemis' head in front, Leto's in back, on the northeast corner capital). On the flanks of these corner capitals are sculptured bulls' heads. The front entablature had a frieze of splendid Gorgon heads: this Gorgon is grim enough, but human in features (Fig. 11), not as fearfully grotesque as the Gorgons of the archaic temple.[12]

The pronaos (or *prodomos*), as has been said, was filled with twelve columns, which were arranged in three latitudinal rows of four columns each (Fig. 4), forming five aisles from front to back; for this reason it was called *dôdekastylos* in inscriptions. It was fifteen meters deep, fourteen meters wide. Its western wall is broken by a gap, eight meters wide, the threshold of which is one and a half meters above the level of the pronaos; there were no steps leading up to it. Through this aperture the interior of the roofed chamber or cella (hereafter called east chamber) was visible to persons standing in the pronaos.[13]

The east chamber measures about fifteen by eight meters, its length being at right angles to the temple axis. At its center were two columns of Corinthian order that supported the ceiling. In the west wall were three doors, closed by swinging leaves, called *trithyron* in a building account. It was apparently for these doors that a son of Ptolemy Theos, probably Ptolemy XIII, sent ivory tusks weighing twenty talents, twenty minas, about 41 B.C. He sent them for *to mega thyrôma* (the big door), which cannot mean the wide aperture on the east side of the chamber, since that had no door to close it (and no other door than the *trithyron,* it seems, can be meant). Earlier (in 54) Ptolemy XII Theos had sent thirty-four ivory tusks weighing twenty talents, twenty minas, to Apollo, probably for the same purpose. The ivory was apparently meant for the embellishment of the *trithyron*. The three doors give access to a flight of twenty-two steps,

12. See Knackfuss 1941: 82–101; Voigtländer 1975: 82–84, 126–139, pls. 12, 14, 17–23, 25–27. On corner capitals see Bericht 7:53; Bericht 8: 21; Herzog 1905: 990; Knackfuss 1941: 92–93; Tuchelt 1973: 109–110, pls. 32–35. The busts of gods on corner capitals are very late (second century A.D.).

13. For *dôdekastylos* see *DI* 39.9, 15; 42.4–5. One can enter the chamber through the opening, but only with some effort and agility.

15.5 meters across (except the bottom two, which cross the adyton), which descend to the adyton (Figs. 6, 8); these steps, like the adyton, are under the open sky.[14]

On each side of the east chamber is a door that gives access to a stairwell. Each stairwell encloses (or enclosed) a double flight of stairs, and its ceiling is covered with a square-and-key fret, usually called Maeander pattern; the building accounts give the name "labyrinth" to these stairwells. The stairs are best preserved in the south well; there the upper flight can be seen. If these stairs led to an upper chamber, as Haussoullier supposed, it was not a room under the roof, since the two columns evidently supported the roof, as the size of the bases shows. Knackfuss conjectured that they rose to a terrace with parapet on the roof, but possibly they gave access to an attic room above the ceiling of the east chamber.[15]

On the right and left sides of the west wall of the pronaos are two doors at the level of the pronaos floor (Fig. 5). These give entrance to vaulted tunnel-like corridors which slope downward underneath the stairwells to small unroofed rooms that open upon the third step of the flight that rises from the adyton to the east chamber (Figs. 6, 8). These dim passages provide the only easy access to the adyton, and thence to the east chamber, from the pronaos.

The adyton, open to the sky, measures nearly fifty-four meters in length from the west doors of the east chamber to the west wall of the adyton, 22⅓ meters in width. Its length, exclusive of the twenty-two-step stairway on the east side, is about forty-seven meters. Its floor level is about four meters below that of the east chamber. The walls on three sides were about twenty-five meters high, including the podium (Figs. 6, 7, 9). On the podium, about 5.2 meters high, is set a wall supported by wide pilasters over eighteen meters high, ten on each of the north and south walls, three on the west wall, and L-shaped pilasters at the northwest and southwest corners; the inter-

14. See Knackfuss 1941: 71–79. For *trithyron* see *DI* 29.13. Ptolemies' gifts: *DI* 218 II.6–10, 394.13–18; see *DI*, p. 166.

15. See Knackfuss 1941: 79–81 and pl. 85, F327; Bericht 7: 49–50 and fig. 16; Haussoullier, "Inscriptions de Didymes," *Rev. Phil.* 29 (1905): 264–265. Building inscriptions: *DI* 25A.9, 14; 26B.7, 21–22; 27A.86, 93, 120; 27B.2, 65; 29.11; 35.18. John C. Montegu, "Note on the *Labyrinths* of Didyma," *AJA* 80 (1976): 304–305, thinks that the stairwells were called labyrinths because they were analogous to and served the same ritual purposes as subterranean systems of corridors elsewhere, e.g., at Klaros (where, however, there is no evidence that the basement structure was called labyrinth). It seems to me likely that the Maeander design on the ceiling gave the name labyrinth to the stairwells. Robert Amy believes that the Didymaean stairs led to a roof terrace: "Temples à escaliers," *Syria* 27 (1950): 125–130.

axial spacing is about five meters, as in the outside colonnade. The pilaster capitals are alternately decorated with griffin-head and vine-tendril motifs. Between the capitals is a frieze of griffins, not all exactly alike, between lyres. They are admirable griffins, of which John Ruskin, I am sure, would have approved: that shown in Figure 10, for example, is surely a "true" griffin; this animal could live and fly.[16]

In the western part of the adyton stood the naiskos, about 14.2 meters long, 8.5 meters wide. It was a marble structure, tetrastyle, prostyle, Ionic order; the columns were over seven meters high; total height was ten meters. The west wall was about 4.5 meters from the west wall of the adyton. The north and south walls end about 1.5 meters behind the columns and are about 11.5 meters long. The pronaos is about two meters deep, and the naos or cella eight meters long, 5.6 meters wide. As already indicated, this building housed the bronze image of Apollo that Kanachos made. A Milesian coin-type of the third century A.D. shows a tetrastyle temple within which appears the Apollo image facing. The naiskos was built earlier than the adyton walls; in it cult and oracular ceremonies were probably performed before the east chamber and adyton were ready for use.[17]

Under the naiskos floor was found a *bothros* (pit). At the bottom was placed a marble plate. Over that the pit was filled in two layers with mixed earth, bird bones, pieces of iron, Hellenistic bronze coins, and gold and silver objects. A marble plate separated the two layers, and another marble plate was placed on top. *Bothroi* were employed in chthonian cults (those of underworld gods and daimones, heroes, and the dead) as pit altars for making sacrifices, but this Didymaean *bothros* was filled and covered over once for all. And it was filled with earth along with the bird bones and other objects mentioned, not with ashes, as were some *bothroi* elsewhere, in which sacrificial ashes were deposited as especially sacred. Ashes spread over the marble plate on top of this *bothros* came from the Christian burning of the naiskos after the Didymeion ceased to be a pagan sanctuary. It seems probable that the *bothros* was dug for the consecration of the naiskos

16. Ruskin took his example of the classical griffin, the "false griffin," from the frieze of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina in Rome; this he contrasted with the medieval or "true" griffin, as represented by the figure which forms a pillar base on the porch of the Verona cathedral; see *Modern Painters* (Sunnyside, Orpington, Kent, 1888), 3.106–110 and pl. 1 (George Allen edition). On the adyton see Knackfuss 1941: 66–71; Voigtländer 1975: 63–69, 87–88, 108–121. See Map 3.

17. See Bericht 8: 11–17; Knackfuss 1941: 102–120; Voigtländer 1975: 34–55, 58–63. See Fig. 7. Milesian coin-type: *BMGC*, Ionia, p. 202, no. 168.

in the third century B.C. The bird bones, the remains of birds burned whole, may have symbolized Apollo's divinatory powers, but it was a nonce sacrifice, made for this particular occasion and purpose; for bird victims were rare and certainly not customary in the cult of Apollo Didymeus. As Wiegand and Knackfuss suggested, the contents of the pit were holy objects that could not be disposed of in a less sacred receptacle; perhaps they came from the fifth-century naiskos that was removed and replaced with the third-century structure.[18]

The temple had no opisthodomos as usually understood, but this name was given at Didyma to the west wall of the adyton. The adyton floor was covered with a pavement in later centuries, but in the third century B.C. a grove of bay trees, it appears, grew in the adyton (and this is probably true of the archaic Didymeion).[19]

The sacred spring rose in the west part of the adyton just northeast of the naiskos, where a spring chamber was built in the fifth century (see page 14). At first excavators supposed that it was situated in the east part of the adyton about where the font of the Byzantine church was placed in medieval times. That may be true of one period of the shrine's history, but it is likely that the spring shifted its position once or twice; we have noticed that it was renewed around 331 B.C. and again in 262/3 A.D. That is, the underground stream would cease to rise in one place and then reappear in another. According to Milesian folklore, the waters of this spring rose from a source on Mount Mykale on the other side of the Latmic Gulf, whence they flowed underground and under the Gulf to rise again in the adyton at Didyma.[20]

It is apparent that the plan of the Hellenistic Didymeion was close to that of the archaic temple, although it was a much larger building. Both marble and limestone were employed in the construction. In

18. Bericht 8: 16–17; Knackfuss 1941: 128–129. On *bothroi* see Stengel 1920: 16–17; R. W. Hutchinson, "Bothroi," *JHS* 55 (1935): 1–19; Paola Zancani Montuoro and Umberto Zanotti-Bianco, "Capaccio," *Notizie degli Scavi* 13 (1937): 299–318. Wiegand thought that the *bothros* indicated a chthonian side to the nature of Apollo Didymeus, but such an interpretation is unnecessary.

19. Opisthodomos: *DI* 25B.17; 26A.4, 50; 26B.27, 40, 48, 53, 55; 27B.80. Bay leaves from adyton: *DI* 493.11–12.

20. Knackfuss 1941: 36, 46–47, 147; Gruben 1963: 81; Hahland 1964: 226, 228–229; Drerup 1964: 358, 361–362; Günther 1971: 114–115; Tuchelt 1973: 114–115; Voigtländer 1972: 96–105. Source of sacred spring: Paus. 5.7.5; see R47, line 8: *ἐν Διδύμων γυάλοις Μυκαλήιον ἔνθεον ὕδωρ*, "divine water from Mykale in Didyma's hollows." See *DI* 406.11–13 (early imperial period) for a lack of water and construction of new wells. See Tuchelt 1984a: 228 on the frequent failures of springs and wells at Didyma.

this temple, I believe, only Apollo Didymeus was worshiped. Other gods of Didyma had their own sanctuaries.

OTHER STRUCTURES

Altar

Eight meters in front of the lowest level of the *krêpidôma* lie the foundations of a large circular structure. It has an outer circumference of about twenty-five meters, a corresponding diameter of nearly eight meters, an inside circumference of about 17.5 meters, and an inside diameter of nearly 5.6 meters. The remains show openings for gates or doors on the east and west sides. Wiegand, Knackfuss, and most scholars have taken this structure to be the altar to which Pausanias refers (5.13.11) in his account of the altar of ashes at Olympia, saying that the Didymaean altar was composed of the blood of sacrificial victims. Since in this space the excavators found charred bones along with votive astragaloi and fragments of vases dated in the seventh and sixth centuries, it is probable that this was an altar like the Olympian, composed of the heaped-up ashes of victims and the fuel used to consume them, not moistened with river water as at Olympia, but with the victims' blood, to form a cohesive conical mass. The date of the sherds indicates that this altar was constructed at the time of the earliest temple. It stood on exactly the axis of the sixth-century temple (an unusual position for the altar of a Greek sanctuary, which is almost always off-center; at Olympia the ash altar was northeast of Zeus's temple, and in fact due east of the Pelopion), and slightly south of the axis of the Hellenistic temple. Pausanias tells us that the Theban Herakles founded this altar; and it was the Idaean Herakles who founded the Olympian altar, according to one version of the foundation legend. A relief from the Milesian theatre (second century A.D.) shows beside a representation of the Kanachos Apollo a cone surmounted by a flame, which may be meant for the ash altar of Didyma.[21]

Fehr, however, disagrees with the interpretation of the circular structure as an altar, considering it too small in comparison with the altars at Samos and Ephesos. He believes that it was a tholos, a round

21. Bericht 7: 41–43; Knackfuss 1941: 136–139. See Paus. 5.13.8–11 for the Olympian and Didymaean altars. Theatre relief: Kekule von Stradonitz 1904: figure on pp. 787, 797. In Fig. 3 part of the altar foundation is visible on the right.

building in which envoys and important visitors from other cities were dined; thus he explains the charred bones. He points out that Pausanias does not say that the Didymaean ash altar was devoted to Apollo Didymeus. There is no indication in the remains of the height of the walls, and scholars have supposed a short wall encircling the ash heap. But if this was a tholos, the wall was much higher, and the structure had a roof. It seems to me, however, that the charred bones are decisive: this was where the altar of ashes stood, and if the space enclosed is large enough for a dining hall, it is certainly large enough for an altar. The bones are not easily explained as refuse from dinner tables; would they not have been removed entirely from the building?[22]

Votive Terrace

Before the temple and beyond the altar there was a terrace for votive offerings. Its retaining wall in irregularly bow-shaped form, about 125 meters long, varies from 2.5 to 3.5 meters in height and is at its farthest about thirty meters from the lowest step of the temple front, but is only four meters distant from the northeast corner. It is broken in its southern half by three flights of steps. The wall is archaic and was part of the sixth-century temenos, if not constructed earlier. Upon the terrace were found bases and fragments of votive sculptures and also the foundations of two porticos. Some of these sculptures were large figures like the Chares group on the Sacred Way.[23]

Stadium

The seats on the south side of the stadium begin where the retaining wall of the votive terrace ends just south of the southeast corner of the temple colonnade. The south steps of the temple platform, as we have seen, served as the seats on the north side. The space between, in which contests took place, is fifteen meters wide. There were seven rows of seats on each side. Three rows can still be seen on the south side, the lowest of which can be traced for sixty meters. Many seats bear the names, inscribed probably between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D., of those for whom they were reserved.[24]

22. Fehr 1972: 29–34, who cites a building account of 200–150, *DI* 39.36, which refers to a tholos in the *presbytikon* (council chamber), and a late hydrophor's inscription, *DI* 333.17 (3d cent. A.D.), which describes the hydrophor's father, Statilius Demeas, as maker of the tholos (*ποιήσαντος τὸν θόλον*). This certainly does not refer to an archaic structure. See Tuchelt 1973: 43–44, 52–55. The inscriptions tell us nothing more.

23. Bericht 7: 38–40; Knackfuss 1941: 130–135; Tuchelt 1984a: 326–333 (P. Schneider).

24. Bericht 7: 40–41; Knackfuss 1941: 140–141; *DI* 50, pp. 97–103.

Chresmographion

The building accounts mention a *chresmographion,* which appears to have been a separate building. Its site is unknown, but one inscription points to a position northwest of the temple. As the name indicates, it had something to do with the written form of the oracles spoken. On its possible function more is said in chapter 5.[25]

Prophet's House

Stones used for the basilica built in the temple in the fifth century A.D. were taken from a demolished building known as the prophet's house. These stones were inscribed with the names of prophets, with information about the circumstances of their incumbencies, and with occasional verses written in honor of individual prophets. So many are the stones found that the building can be described as of Doric order with four columns across the front. These columns carried lists of prophets so arranged that the word *prophêtês* appears on the first column to the left, the prophet's name on the second, his patronymic on the third, and for a few the word *autoetês* on the fourth (for the meaning of *autoetês* see pp. 48–49). The prophets named served in the first century B.C., but the building may have been constructed in the third. Attached to it was a portico called "the stoa of the prophetic house" in inscriptions. Though so much is known about the prophet's house, it is not known where it stood, but very likely its site was near the temple.[26]

Wiegand identified the prophet's house with the chresmographion, and that identification has been generally accepted. But Tuchelt doubts that the prophet's house could have served all the purposes that have been proposed for both this house and the chresmographion—an office for writing oracles, a waiting room for consultants, an archive, and a residence of the incumbent prophet. It is probable that these were separate buildings, though possibly close together.[27]

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25. *DI* 31.5–9, 32.7–9; Tuchelt 1973: 49–50. One building account refers to the transport of stones from the *chrêsmographion* to the *prodomos* of the temple; i.e., in that period the chresmographion or the ground around it was used for the temporary storage of stones brought by road from Panormos. The chresmographion may be the *manteion* that Strabo mentions in 14.1.5, 634 as situated in a different *sêkos* from the temple's.

26. Bericht 8: 17–20; Knackfuss 1941: 150–154; *DI* pp. 155–159; Tuchelt 1973: 61–62, 72–77. See *DI* 302, 303, on the stoa and the term *prophêtikê* (*oikia*) for this building; *DI* 202–225 for inscriptions of prophets.

27. Prophet's house = *chrêsmographion*: Bericht 8: 20; Knackfuss 1941: 154; *DI* pp. 104, 155, 324. See Tuchelt 1973: 77.

Miscellaneous Structures

In the temenos of Didyma there were sanctuaries and altars of Artemis Pythie, Zeus Soter, and other gods and goddesses. Several non-religious public buildings were erected: building accounts of about 180–175 mention a prytanes' house (*oikêma to prytanikon,* also called *prytaneion,* i.e., city hall). This building represented the city prytaneion; here the prytanes (chief magistrates) and their guests had their meals when present in Didyma; here too there were no doubt a hearth for civic sacrifices and rooms for records, and possibly a court for cases arising in Didyma. Didyma also had a gymnasium, *makellon* (butcher shop or slaughterhouse), a basilica (columnar hall of the Roman period), baths, and other structures of unknown purpose. There was probably also a *tamieion,* an office for the comptrollers. One can imagine Didyma around 200 A.D. as an impressive scene of religious activity.[28]

28. For sanctuaries of other gods see chapters VII and VIII. On the prytaneion see *DI* 32.22–23, 34.27–28, 41.53–54; Tuchelt 1973: 51–52. On the uses of prytaneia see S. Miller 1978: 4–21. On other structures see Tuchelt 1973: 55–56 (gymnasium), 56–58 (*makellon*), 58–61 (basilica), 66 (baths), 71 (market hall), 77–78 (*tamieion*); Naumann 1980 (baths).

1 Didymeion from the northeast

2. Didymeion from the southeast

3. Didymeion: front steps and dodekastylos

4. Didymeion: dodekastylos

5. Didymeion: front entrance to south passage

6. Didymeion, interior: west end of south passage

7. Didymeion: adyton and remains of naiskos

8. Didymeion, interior: west end of north passage and steps to roofed east chamber

9. Didymeion, interior view of adyton and remains of naiskos from east chamber

10. Griffin from Didymeion frieze

11. Gorgon head from entablature of Didymeion façade

III

The Prophet and Other Ministrants of Apollo Didymeus

THE PROPHET

We know nothing at all of how either Didyma or the temple and Oracle of Apollo Didymeus were administered before 494 B.C. It appears that the Branchidai, whether family or clan (*genos*) or association, administered the whole sanctuary, since the place was known by their name, but we do not know how either the presiding priest or the oracle-speaker (mantis) was chosen. It is likely that one person presided over the sanctuary for a fixed term, who was probably not the receiver of divine inspiration, the person who actually spoke the god's responses. The oracle-speaker may have been a single member of the family who served for a term or indefinitely, or several Branchidai may have taken turns as mantis at successive sessions. It is probable that the mantis was a man, but we have no reliable information on the subject.[1]

Conon, collector of myths and legends, has the story of Euangelos, son of a Karystian woman whom King Laodamas of Miletos took captive and offered to Apollo at Didyma as part of a tithe of

1. Demon 327.16J *ap.* Schol. vet. *in* Aristoph. *Plut.* 1002, reporting R40, says that the Milesians accused the prophetess of being corrupted by Medizers. But the response is spurious and the story unreliable at best. Furthermore Demon does not say that the consultant Carians went to Didyma, and in saying that the Milesians accused the prophetess it is very possible that he means the Pythia of Delphi. According to the cult myth, Branchos first spoke oracles at Didyma: Conon *Narr.* 33, 44.

spoils. Branchos, who then presided over the shrine and Oracle, adopted the woman's child, named him Euangelos, and made him messenger (*angelos*) of the oracular responses. Euangelos took over the Oracle on coming of age. He was ancestor of the Euangelidai, a Milesian *genos*. Nowhere else do we hear of this family or of their ancestor. And as Conon tells the story, we do not know whether the Euangelidai assisted the Branchidai as messengers of the responses (whatever that means) or were simply an old Milesian family. That Euangelos became head of the Oracle as Branchos' successor seems inconsistent with his being eponymous ancestor of a *genos* that traditionally assisted the prophet/mantis *genos*.[2]

No doubt a priest presided over the cult of Apollo Didymeus during the period 494–334, but we do not know what his title was. When the Oracle was reestablished in 334–331 the head priest was given the title of prophet (*prophêtês*) and was always referred to by that title in Miletos and Didyma, never as priest (*hiereus*). In this respect Didyma differs from Delphi, where the cult was headed by two men who were called priests (*hiereis*), each chosen for life. Herodotos and others refer to a prophet at Delphi, but the term is not found in any Delphic inscription. Perhaps the priest who officiated at a mantic session was called prophet for the occasion.[3]

We learn a good deal about the office of prophet at Didyma after 334 B.C. from inscriptions that prophets had inscribed when their terms of office came to an end. Many were inscribed on the walls and columns of the prophet's house.[4]

The prophet served for one year and was chosen by lot; for a man so chosen was obviously the god's choice. The demes of Miletos nominated the candidates for the prophethood. There were five demes in the Milesian state (see Robert 1959: 673; Piérart 1983: 9–10)—Argaseis, Katapolitioi, Lerioi, Plateis, Teichiesseis—so that there could be five lots in the urn, but usually there were fewer. On at least one occasion two demes nominated the same man, Lucius Junius Pudens

2. Farnell (1907: 228) thought that the Euangelidai were a caste of interpreters in the later cult, but no inscriptions or literary sources (other than Conon *Narr.* 44) refer to them. An Euangelos is mentioned in two Didymaean inscriptions: *DI* 50.IA.40, 509 III; see also *Milet* 1.3.138 II.59; Bilabel 1920: 84–88.

3. On the Delphic titles see Fontenrose 1978: 218. See Herod. 8.36.2–37.1; Plut. *Mor.* 292d, 386b, 438b.

4. *DI* 202–306. There are also a few Milesian honorary decrees for prophets inscribed in either Didyma or Miletos, and hydrophors often mention kinsmen who were prophets, especially fathers, in their honorary inscriptions. On the Didymaean prophets' inscriptions see Robert 1960: 449–463.

Lucius' son, who was the first and only person, as he puts it, to be nominated (*apodeichtheis*) on one and the same day by two demes and chosen by two lots (*DI* 215A = 235A III = 265). This may mean that there was no single day on which demes had to make nominations (otherwise why mention that his two nominations were made on the same day, if that is his meaning?), or that Lucius Junius Pudens was nominated and chosen on the same day. And it probably means that his name was written on two lots in the urn, one of which was drawn. Evidently a deme's nominee did not have to be a resident of the deme.

In two inscriptions the outgoing prophet says that he was the fifth drawn by lot (*πέμπτος κληρωθείς*). Rehm (*DI,* p. 162) rightly, I believe, interprets this to mean *pemptos autos:* he was one of five men whose names were written on lots; that is, each of the five demes of Miletos nominated a different man for the prophethood. One was the prophet Marcus Antoninus Rufus, who was [*μό*]*νος καὶ πρῶτος ἀπ*[*ὸ παντὸς?*] *αἰῶνος πέμπ*[*τος μὲν?*] *κληρωθεὶς μό*[*νος δὲ?*] *παραγενόμενο*[*ς κατὰ?*] *τὸν κλῆρον*, "the only and first in all time fifth chosen by lot and alone appearing at [*or* at the time of] the lot [lot-drawing]" (*DI* 214B, early imperial period, perhaps before 15 A.D.). The second participial phrase is difficult to interpret. It seems hardly possible that it could mean "and alone selected in the lot-drawing." Rehm supposed that four men declined the office, so that Marcus Antoninus was the only person on hand to take it; the Milesians put several names in the urn to be sure of drawing the name of someone who would take the office. But could a man who had accepted a deme's nomination (as he must have done) refuse the office if selected? In prophets' inscriptions *paragenomenos* means the prophet's presence in Didyma to take up residence there and to assume the duties of his office. Duplicate inscriptions of the prophet Pomponius Pollio (*DI* 280A, 280B, Hadrianic period) reveal that he was a physician—called by the god, he says (RB4)—who was chosen by lot and presented himself in Didyma from abroad (*κληρωθεὶς καὶ παραγενόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ξένης*). Here are the same two participles as in 214B, in which we may interpret the participial phrases quoted above as "the only and first man chosen by lot from five candidates and alone present in Didyma at the drawing of the lots (to take the office at once)" (see Piérart 1983: 11). Apparently this had never occurred before in anyone's memory. The other inscription (*DI* 258.2–4, early imperial period) has the phrase *πέμπτ*[*ος κ*]*ληρωθεὶς καὶ λαχὼν*, which we may understand as "one of five candidates submitted to the lottery and winning."

In some years there was only one candidate, and when this happened the formality of drawing lots was sometimes dispensed with, and the man was appointed *aklêrôtos* or *aklêrôtei* (without drawing lots). It could be that in some years all demes (or all that made a nomination) nominated the same man, a single candidate, and the proper authority would formally draw his name. But occasionally someone volunteered to take the office before any nominations were made, and the demos of the Milesians elected him by acclamation. For in some inscriptions a prophet calls himself *autepangeltos,* a volunteer; some add *aklêrôtos*. If a prophet does not add that, we may suppose that lots were drawn. It is not likely that a volunteer had to face other candidates.[5]

It was in the imperial period, as far as we know from the surviving inscriptional record, that single candidates and volunteers appeared. One year, about 60 A.D., went without a prophet, and the next year would have had no prophet either, if the aged Claudius Damas had not taken the office for the second time (*DI* 237 II.7–11). Why Milesians were more reluctant in this period than in earlier times to take the office is a question that we cannot answer. It was an expensive office for the incumbent, but wealthy Milesian families were surely as numerous under the Roman empire as in the Hellenistic age. One hesitates to suppose a lack of piety and civic pride among Milesians in Roman times, since inscriptions indicate that these virtues persisted, at least among some families.

In some inscriptions a prophet calls himself *autoetês* ("same year" as adjectival modifier, i.e., "having the same year" or "in the same year"). Gelzer, knowing only one of these inscriptions (*DI* 283), which has *autoetês panêgyrikos,* interpreted it to mean that the prophet concerned held the office in the year of the Great Didymeia, and this may be correct for some occurrences of the term. G. Hirschfeld thought that the prophet called *autoetês* had completed the term of his predecessor, who had died in office, and so was prophet in the same year; but there are eighteen occurrences of *autoetês* (and two of a synonym) in inscriptions ranging in date from the first century B.C. to the third A.D., and it seems unlikely that so many prophets died within their years of service. W. R. Paton and J. L. Myres interpreted it as meaning that the prophet took the office in the year in which he was chosen; but probably every prophet took office soon after he was selected. The drawing of lots probably took place just before the new

5. Prophets chosen without lots: *DI* 236B III, 279a.6, 286.2, 288.3. *Autepangeltos* alone: *DI* 269.4, 270.4, 277.1, 288.3.

year, and the chosen man took office on the first day of the year. If he took office a day or two ahead of the new year, it would hardly be worth pointing out as a distinction. Of the eighteen occurrences of the term *autoetês,* it is joined in seven with *panêgyrikos.* Another has προφήτης καὶ κωτάρχης αὐτοέτης, "prophet and *kotarch* [priest of the Kabeiroi] in the same year." Another is found in laudatory verses, the second of which is αὐτοέτεις ἱεροὺς θεὶς ἐπὶ σοὶ στεφάνους, "[Apollo] having put holy crowns upon you in the same year." This means that the prophet Philodemos was also stephanephor for the first three months of his priesthood in 66 B.C. (in the half century when the annual terms of stephanephor and prophet did not coincide). In nine occurrences *autoetês* modifies only the prophet's name, which either has no other modifier or is also qualified as *autepangeltos* or *aklêrôtos.* One might suppose that *panêgyrikos* is omitted in these instances and that the prophet served in the year of the Didymeia. But *panêgyrikos* is often used alone for the prophet serving in that year, and in one inscription (*DI* 243) the prophet *autoetês* is grandson of a man who was prophet *panêgyrikos* and not called *autoetês;* it therefore seems unlikely that the two terms can mean the same thing in this document. Hekatomnos Nikomedes' son, designated *autoetês* (*DI* 205.7) was prophet in 26/5 (*DI* 391B II), which could not have been a year in which the Didymeia were held (see p. 69). Hence I would conclude that *autoetês* ordinarily means that the prophet held some other high office in the year of his incumbency, although he does not always mention what office it was, but occasionally it means that he served in the year of the Didymaean festival.[6]

The office of prophet could be held more than once, though the record shows no instance of two years in succession. Claudius Damas, already mentioned, took the office for the second time at the age of eighty-one. A certain Poseidonios held the office three times (*DI* 282), probably in the first century A.D.

Apparently the prophet could be of any age. Claudius Damas was eighty-one years old in his second term. Marcus Ulpius Flavianus

6. For *autoetês panêgyrikos* see *DI* 270.3–4, 278.3, 283, 287.4–5, 12–15, 289, 292 (certain restoration); prophet and kotarch *autoetês: DI* 286.1–2; Philodemos, prophet and stephanephor: *DI* 229 II.1–8, 11 (see RB2); *autoetês* alone: *DI* 205D.7–9, 214B, 223B, 236B III, 243.1, 258.4, 284; prophet and archiprytanis in the same year: *OGIS* 494.2–4. *DI* 214A V has *autoeniautoi* without visible context. See Gelzer 1869: 38; G. Hirschfeld, *IBM* 4, p. 94; W. R. Paton and J. L. Myres, *JHS* 16 (1896): 223–224; Bericht 8: 17. In *DI* 243.9–10 *panêgyrikos* is a certain restoration, confirmed for this prophet by *DI* 244.8. Hekatomnos was prophet when Sopolis Antigonos' son was stephanephor (*DI* 391B II.7–9), for whose date see *Milet* 1.3.126.41.

Phileas was only twenty-three years old when he succeeded his father as prophet (*DI* 279a.6–7).

Like Phileas, many prophets were sons or grandsons of prophets. But the inscriptions do not warrant a conclusion that the office of prophet was restricted to certain Milesian families; in the Milesian democracy probably any male citizen could serve. But only a wealthy man was likely to accept the office, and so most prophets, if not all, belonged to well-to-do families. Since in a family the same names recur, about ten Milesian families can be distinguished in the prophets' inscriptions. Some that appear in the second or first century B.C. do not appear later, and some prominent in the imperial period are not found earlier. It is probable that some of these families were interrelated. They provided prophets, stephanephors, comptrollers, hydrophors, agonothets, gymnasiarchs, envoys, and other prestigious officials of the Milesian state.[7]

Men with wholly Roman names appear in the prophet list, such as Lucius Vitellius Crispus Lucius' son, Lucius Vitellius Bassus Lucius' son, Lucius Junius Pudens, Lucius Malius Satorninus. If these were Romans, were they resident in Miletos as government or army officers? But no Roman titles are mentioned in their lists of offices held. Or were they Roman merchants living in Miletos? This seems unlikely. They were Greeks, I believe, who had taken wholly Roman names as Roman citizens. We notice that the honorary inscriptions of prophets with entirely Roman names differ in no respect from others, and look like the statements of Milesians.[8]

Three Roman emperors were chosen to be prophets at Didyma

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7. For prophets' families see *DI* pp. 162, 164, 167, 171, 174, 184–185, 187, 192, 196. For a chronological table of stephanephors, prophets, hydrophors, and *tamiai* see *DI* pp. 380–387. See *DI* 179.11–14: three prophets from one *genos*.

8. Roman names: *DI* 215A, 223B, 235A III, 237 I, 255, 280AB. Roman names with Greek ancestry: *DI* 243, 277. On *DI* 237 I see Fontenrose 1936: 57 and 1942: 165–166, where I proposed restorations that are no longer tenable. Now in view of *DI* 255 I would read lines 2–4 of *DI* 237 I as follows: [Πρ]οφήτης Λεύκιο[ς Βιτέλ/λ]ιος Λευκίου [υἱὸ]ς Π[αλατ/ί]να Κρ[ί]σπος, κτλ., "Prophet Lucius Vitellius Crispus, Lucius' son, Palatine tribe . . ." *DI* 255 names this man's son, Lucius Vitellius Bassus, Palatine tribe, and so father and son have different cognomens. L. Vitellius Crispus' daughter is Appia Bassa, *DI* 237 I.8–9. Rehm suggested [Ἄππ]ιος for lines 2–3, the prophet's name being Lucius Appius Crispus. But that means two letters to complete line 2, where there is room for five or six, though it is true that line breadth varies in this inscription. These anomalies of nomenclature seem to indicate Greeks of Roman citizenship who took entirely Roman names, but, though kinsmen, used different cognomens as just personal names. On Roman names taken by Greeks see W. M. Ramsay, *On the Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor* (Aberdeen University Press, 1941), 8–10 (for changes of cognomen in a family see 11–12, 36–37); Georges Daux, "Notes de lecture," *BCH* 97 (1973): 242, 244–245; 99 (1975): 162–169.

(several were named stephanephor)—Trajan, Hadrian, and Julian. For them, no doubt, it was an honorary office.[9]

We might expect that the terms of all Milesian officials would begin and end on the same day, presumably the Milesian new year's day, on or near the spring equinox. But for a period beginning about 84/3 and ending in 42/1 the terms of the two offices began on different days of the year, and so some inscriptions show two stephanephors for a single prophet's year (and since the phenomenon occurs only in this approximately forty-year period, it cannot be supposed that the elected stephanephor died and was succeeded by another). This is the period during which Milesian autonomy was lost because Miletos had allied herself with Mithridates. For the first twenty years of this period Rome took over the direction of the Didymaean festival, but in 64/3 the management of it was returned to Miletos (a hydrophor of Artemis, who served under the stephanephors Menodoros and Basileides in 64/3, says in the record of her year of service that the direction of the *panêgyris* was restored to Miletos in that year). This Roman assumption of the festival management explains the difference in the Milesian and Didymaean official years for this period. It was the Didymaean calendar that changed, not the Milesian, which always began at approximately the spring equinox. It appears that Roman control of the Didymeia, and probably of the whole sanctuary, changed Didyma's religious year—the terms of the prophet, comptrollers, and hydrophor—making it coterminous with the Roman year; and Didyma remained on this calendar until 41/0, although Miletos had resumed control of the Didymeia in 63.[10]

As priest of Apollo Didymeus the prophet superintended the cult and sanctuary; he was the chief magistrate of Didyma and apparently resided in the prophet's house during his year of office. He presided over all rites performed in honor of Apollo Didymeus—sacrifices, festivals, oracular sessions—and he spoke the prayers to the god in these rites and on all solemn occasions (it may be that on some occasions the conduct of sacrifice and prayer was assigned to subordinate clergy, but we have no information on this matter). For divine sanction of a treaty between Miletos and Herakleia-under-Latmos about 180 B.C. the prophet conducted sacrifices and processions of victims

9. Trajan prophet: *DI* 318; Hadrian prophet: *DI* 494.2–3; Julian prophet: Jul. *Epist.* 451bc.

10. See *DI* 215B II, 229 II.1–6, 231 I, III, 367 (hydrophor's inscription), 391 I.5–10, II.1–4; *Milet* 1.3, pp. 237–240; Rehm 1939: 11–41, *DI* p. 170.

and made prayers to Apollo Didymeus, Artemis, Leto, Athena, and Zeus Soter, and the stephanephor performed the same rites for Apollo Delphinios.[11]

We have no information on the prophet's function at oracular sessions. It was not he who spoke the oracles to the consultant as an inspired mantis. If the Delphic priests (about whose duties we know little) offer an analogy, the prophet was present as officiant at the sessions, and may have delivered the response in written form to the consultant (see chapter V).

The prophet had a special duty, perhaps established before 334, but renewed in a Milesian statute of the first century A.D., to provide a banquet for the Kosmoi (see below). The statute requires that the prophet and stephanephor fulfill (the duty of) the banquets of the Kosmoi and the Molpoi: *Δέδοχθαι τοὺς / προφήτας καὶ τοὺς στεφανηφόρους / ἐπάναγκες ἐπιτελεῖν τὰς εὐωχίας τῶν / τε Κόσμων καὶ τῶν Μολπῶν κατὰ τὰ π[ά] / τρια ἔθη*, "it is decreed that the prophets and stephanephors be required to carry out the feasts of the Kosmoi and of the Molpoi in accordance with the ancestral customs" (*Milet* 1.3.134.13–17). There follow specifications of legal proceedings to be brought against the prophet who does not provide the banquet for the Kosmoi and against the stephanephor who does not provide the banquet for the Molpoi. It is forbidden any magistrate or other person to convert these liturgies into a means of revenue (*eis argyrikon poron,* 19–20). How this could be done is not clear. Perhaps the prophet and stephanephor were forbidden to admit citizens in general to the feast on payment of money for the privilege. In any case it appears that prophets had been neglecting this duty for a long time before circa 50 A.D. It is only in later inscriptions that the Kosmoi feast is mentioned, as in *DI* 268, which records that Claudius Damas entertained the Kosmoi for twelve days.

The duty of entertaining the Kosmoi was obviously expensive for the incumbent prophet. There was, however, some salary or emolument attached to the office—or perhaps reimbursement for expenses incurred—for Claudius Damas makes a point in his inscription of informing the citizens that he took the office *gratis* (*dôrean*). He did this, he says, *ὑπὲρ στρατηγίας* (literally "over generalship"). Another prophet, Antiochos or Antiochos' son, took the prophethood *gratis*

11. See *Milet* 1.3.150.18–25 (treaty with Herakleia; see R12 for text), 143A.39–43, 146A.50–55.

"over" the office of agoranomos (market superintendent). The expression may mean that these men took the office of prophet without remuneration on behalf of the more urgent expenses of another office, thus saving some money for the city. But I believe the meaning is that these men took the office of prophet without pay over and above another office held; the second (Antiochos) asserts that as agoranomos he provided grain, oil, and other commodities in hard times.[12]

The prophet was expected to spend a good deal on entertainment of citizens and on benefactions and services to them. One prophet feasted the citizens for thirteen days, gave the boys dinners for four days at the festival of the Anoigmoi, and made distributions (*dianomai*) of money and goods to the women and maidens from Naos (the village in the temenos of Didyma) and to the sacred council (probably of the city). Another made a *dianomê* to the women and maidens, and often, he says, to the boys and the council, and at the Kosmoi festival to the men, giving every citizen two *dênaria* and three pints of wine and providing olive oil every day. Another says that he feasted the twelve tribes daily (he adds "all citizens"), giving each one *dênarion* (but it seems unlikely that he did this every day of the year). Some provided olive oil on the customary days (*ταῖς ἐθίμοις ἡμέραις*). Such were the services that prophets rendered in the imperial period.[13]

When performing the duties of his office, the prophet wore a wreath of bay leaves, probably bound with bands of white cloth. One received a gold crown from the city. The prophet probably carried a rod or wand too: in the cult myth Apollo gave Branchos a crown and a wand (*virga* in Varro's version).[14]

The inscriptions that prophets wrote or had written and inscribed at the end of their term grew more elaborate as the years went by, until in the second and third centuries A.D. they often became long compositions, sometimes reaching about forty inscribed lines. The simplest form appears in Theon's inscription, "Prophet Theon Theon's

12. *DI* 237 II.3–5, 248.5–11; see Hirschfeld *IBM* 4, p. 89. My interpretation is supported by *DI* 84.5–10: the city honored Meniskos because of his expenses undertaken above the expenses of the prophethood: *ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆ/ς προφητείας ἀναλωμάτων κοσμ/ήσας τὸν τρίτον οἶκον τοῦ Φαυστ/ινείου γυμνασίου τῷ παντὶ κόσ/μῳ μετὰ πάντα τὰ τῆς λειτουρ/γίας ἀναλωματα*, "above the expenses of the prophethood adorning the third room of the Faustinian gymnasium with all ornament after the expenses of his liturgy." The *meta* phrase repeats the *hyper* phrase: the liturgy was the prophethood.

13. Referred to in order are *DI* 297, 279, 269–270; see also *DI* 271, 288, 300.

14. *DI* 260, 282; gold crown, *DI* 141 (he was also honored with a bronze image). Branchos: Varro *ap.* Lact. Plac. *Theb.* 8.198.

son, a pious man" (*DI* 214A IIIb). Almost every prophet calls himself pious (*eusebês*). Some add another adjective like *philagathos,* "fond of good" (*DI* 215B I). Long inscriptions mention other offices held by the prophet in his public career, and offices held and honors won by parents, grandparents, and other relatives (a prophet's daughter often held the office of hydrophor concurrently). Some, as we have already seen, mention the circumstances of election and tenure: for example, their volunteering to take the office, taking it more than once, taking it without emolument, or being chosen without the drawing of lots. Some list all services and benefactions rendered, not only while holding the office of prophet, but also while previously holding the offices of stephanephor, agonothet, agoranomos, etc. For a good example see *DI* 281 (first century A.D.):

> . . . Προφήτης ἅμα καὶ κω//τάρχης Ποσιδώνιος Διο/δότου εὐσεβὴς καὶ στεφα/νηφόρος καὶ γυμνασιάρχης / πατέρων καὶ γυμνασιάρχης νέ/ων καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς [Ἰ]ωνί[ας καὶ]// στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως ἐ[πιμη?]/νιεύσαντος αὐτοῦ —— λδι —— /τηρα τοῦ υἱοῦ Ποσειδωνίου, [πα]/τρὸς λειτουργοῦ [Μ]ιλη[σίων,] / μητρὸς δὲ Τρυφέρας τῆς [Ποσι] //δωνίου φιλοτέκνου, ἐ[φ' οἷς] / ἡ πατρὶς αὐτὴ πολλάκις διὰ / ψηφισμάτων καὶ τειμῶν ἐ/μαρτύρησε, τελέσας τὴν προ/φητείαν εὐσεβῶς μὲν τὰ πρὸς // θεοὺς μεγαλοψύχως δὲ τὰ / πρὸς ἀνθρώπους. . . .
>
> [4–21]

Prophet and kotarch at the same time, Posidonios Diodotos' son, pious, and stephanephor and gymnasiarch of the fathers and gymnasiarch of the youths and high priest of Ionia and general of the city, when his own son Posidonios [*or* the very son of Posidonios] [lacuna] was priest of the monthly service, and his father was *litourgos* [liturgy-holder] of the Milesians, and son of Tryphera, loving mother of Posidonios, for whom the country itself has borne witness by means of decrees and honors—having completed the prophethood both piously with respect to the gods' affairs and magnanimously with respect to men's affairs. . . .

There follows the date expressed by reference to the hydrophor, comptrollers, and stephanephor who served in the same year.

An Epicurean who became prophet has a fittingly brief inscription, "Prophet Philidas Herakleon's son, Epicurean philosopher, [of the] genos [descended] from Aias" (*DI* 285). Another prophet, Aelius Aelianus, was a Stoic philosopher; he is mentioned by his daughter, hydrophor of Artemis Pythie, in the year of his prophethood, in her terminal honorary inscription (*DI* 310.4–6). Another prophet was the physician C. Pomponius Pollio, mentioned above, apparently a

Roman; he says that he is a physician called by the god (*ἰατρὸς κληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ*, RB4); whether the god called him *iatros* or called him to the prophethood is unclear.[15]

THE PROPHETESS

It is now certain that after 334 B.C. a prophetess spoke the responses of Apollo Didymeus, as at Delphi a woman received Apollo's inspiration and spoke his message to consultants. In recent excavations an inscription (Tuchelt 1980: 170 = R17) was found composed by a hydrophor of Artemis Pythie whose grandmother was Tryphosa, chosen by the god himself. Previously it had not been entirely certain that a woman spoke for Apollo at Didyma. Two other inscriptions were not conclusive. One (*DI* 273) confirms the presence of a prophetess if it is restored correctly: [—— *τῇ προφ*]*ήτιδι* [*τοῦ Διδυμέως Κλεο*]*πάτρᾳ* . . . , "[—— to the proph]etess of [the Didymaean, Kleo]patra" (inscribed in the second half of the second century A.D.). Another (*DI* 235B) possibly refers to the prophetess: *Γάιε εὐχαριστῶ τῇ καλῇ προφητίσκῃ*, "Gaius, I thank the pretty little prophetess" (possibly first century B.C., but more likely A.D.). This may be some sort of jest.

The literary evidence is late with the dubious exception of Demon on R40 (see note 1). Iamblichos, Porphyry, and Origen attest a prophetess of Apollo at Didyma. Iamblichos gives us most information about a Didymaean prophetess, including some account of her mantic activity (see chapter V), in the same section of *De mysteriis* as that in which he tells about the Pythia of Delphi and the prophet at Klaros. Over a century earlier Lucian wrote humorously about Apollo's having to run from one Oracle to another: "Now he has to be in Delphi, and soon after he runs to Kolophon and from there crosses to Xanthos, and then back on a run to Klaros, then to Delos

15. An Epicurean was priest of Baal at Syrian Apameia in the Antonine period: *Ann. Arch. Arab.-Syr.* 23 (1973): 67. There is nothing surprising in an Epicurean's serving as priest; the Epicureans believed in the gods as superhuman beings who had nothing to do with governing the world. Epicureans could revere them as perfect beings, as Lucretius invoked and eulogized Venus in *Rer. nat.* 1.1–40. See p. 95, note 30. Wiegand (Bericht 7: 71) identified Aelius Aelianus with Aelianus Tacticus, author of *Taktika*; but Rehm shows that the inscription is too late for the lifetime of the writer. On the physician-prophet see V. Nutton, "The Doctor and the Oracle," *Rev. Belge Philol. Hist.* 47 (1969): 37–48. For a philosopher-prophet at Didyma contemporary with Eusebios see *PE* 4.2, 136a.

or to Branchidai, in a word wherever the promantis, after drinking from the sacred spring and chewing the bay and shaking the tripod, bids him be present." But it is evident that Lucian is thinking mainly of the Delphic Pythia and relying at that on a conventional and inaccurate picture of her; for Klaros (= Kolophon) had a male mantis, and Delos had no Oracle of Apollo (besides, Delos was almost uninhabited in Lucian's time). Finally, Constantine, reported by Eusebios, mentioned in a letter the priestess who spoke R33, but indicated no oracular site and apparently had the Pythia in mind (see *Vit. Const.* 2.54); his description fits a traditional view of her (but is untrue of the real Pythia: he says that she was driven by frenzy [*ὑπὸ μανίας ἐλαννομένη*]).[16]

We now have sufficient evidence for the presence at Didyma of a woman oracle-speaker, probably dating from the renewal of the Oracle about 331. The infrequent mention of a prophetess among the numerous inscriptions found at Didyma may seem surprising, but the Pythia of Delphi is mentioned in very few Delphic inscriptions. Nothing is said about how the Didymaean prophetess was chosen, except that the prophetess Tryphosa was appointed by Apollo in an oracle (R17), but that appears to be exceptional. We are not told what age the prophetess was required to be, how long she served, or what any other requirements of the office were. It is very likely that, as at Delphi, she had to be freeborn and ritually pure; probably she had either to be a virgin or to abstain from sexual intercourse while holding the office.[17]

COMPTROLLERS (*TAMIAI*)

Two comptrollers (or treasurers, stewards, Greek *tamiai*) were appointed every year to assist the prophet in the management of Apollo's cult and the whole sanctuary of Didyma. Each performed the duties of the office for half the year; the honorary inscriptions specify whether the honored comptroller served in the first half year or in the second. One man, however, served the whole year, as we are in-

16. Iambl. *Myst.* 3.11; Porph. *Epist. ad Aneb.* 14; Origen *Contra Celsum* 1.70, 384; Lucian *Bis acc.* 1; Constantine *ap.* Ps. Eus. *Vit. Const.* 2.50. Constantine may mean that the priestess's madness on this occasion was caused by the Christians.

17. Pythia: *FD* 3.5.50 III.2; *SIG* 823; *BCH* 49 (1925): 83 (10). On the prophetess of Didyma see Gelzer 1869: 33–34; Farnell 1907: 229; Haussoullier 1920: 270; Laumonier 1958: 572. See chapter 5 on the prophetess's role in oracle-speaking.

formed in his inscription. The full title of a comptroller was *ταμιεύων τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων καὶ παρεδρεύων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ*, comptroller of the sacred treasury and associate in the sanctuary; but in most inscriptions the title is shortened in various ways. Of a father and son, comptrollers in the same year, it is said, *παρήδρευσαν τῷ θεῷ*; i.e., they were the god's associates.[18]

In inscriptions of the early third century B.C. six comptrollers of the sacred treasury are named. These were apparently the whole board of comptrollers of sacred monies and property for Miletos, including two assigned to Didyma. One inscription quotes a letter of Seleukos Nikator and Antiochos Soter sent to the council and people of Miletos in which are listed the gifts that the king and his son sent to Apollo and the other gods of Didyma. For this reason, probably, the whole Milesian board is named in the dating formula. Four other inscriptions that list six comptrollers are annual reports of votive offerings. Thereafter only the two Didymaean comptrollers are named in the reports of offerings at Didyma.[19]

Probably both Didymaean *tamiai* were members of the Milesian board for the whole year, and each in turn resided in Didyma for six months; then he was *paredreuôn,* associate or coadjutor of the prophet for that period. The resident comptroller appears to have been the civil governor of the sanctuary, the prophet being the religious head and as such the chief magistrate, corresponding to the stephanephor in the city. The comptroller superintended the sacred treasures and property not only of Apollo Didymeus but also of other deities at Didyma; he managed all the secular business of the shrine; he probably supervised the care and maintenance of the temples, other buildings, and surrounding temenos; and he was, perhaps, chief police officer in temenos and village. As associate (*paredreuôn*) he was sometimes called *archôn;* at least the verb *archein* (rule) is employed to refer to his performance in office during his term. In two inscriptions the participle *arxanta* is substituted for *paredreusanta* in the usual formula: *ταμιεύσαντα εὐσεβῶς καὶ ἄρξαντα ἴσως καὶ δικαίως*, "having served as comptroller piously and having administered office fairly and justly."[20]

The inscriptions provide few particulars about the comptrollers'

18. Period of service: *DI* 389–391, 395–399, 408, 411, 412, 414. Title: complete in *DI* 442, 443, 446; see also *DI* 447, 453, 454, 463, 464, 466, 468, 469, 471, 472, 474, 475. Father and son: *DI* 406. The verbs commonly used for a comptroller's service are *tamieuein kai paredreuein*: *DI* 390A, 391.

19. *DI* 424–428.

20. *DI* 392.6–7, 394.11–13. See *DI* p. 324.

duties. They submitted an annual report of all valuable votive offerings received during their year of service. Some comptrollers say (or have it said for them) in honorary inscriptions that they made *parapraseis pantôn;* one said that he served magnanimously (*megalopsychôs*) with respect to the *parapraseis*. This word means "sales below cost," i.e., sales at a loss. Inscriptions of nearby cities suggest that the comptroller conducted sales of goods below cost for the benefit of his fellow-citizens, not as an activity or duty of his office, but as a philanthropic action. Probably he induced shopkeepers to sell goods cheaply by subsidizing the vendors out of his own funds. The references to *parapraseis* at Didyma occur only in comptrollers' inscriptions, but this is not true elsewhere.[21]

The comptrollers also assisted the prophet in the conduct of sacrifices. To solemnize treaties and sometimes other public acts the prophet and resident comptroller were ordered by the Milesian demos to conduct sacrifices and processions of victims for Apollo Didymeus and sometimes other Didymaean deities in addition. What the comptroller did in the sacrificial rite is not specified; it may be that he acted as an under-priest or that he had to see that victims and necessary supplies and equipment were on hand (or both).[22]

We know nothing about how the comptrollers were selected, how old they had to be, or what compensation, if any, they received. There was no doubt a treasury house (*tamieion*) in Didyma, and perhaps the resident comptroller was lodged there; in any case the city surely provided a residence for him. Some were honored at the ends of their terms of office with crowns and sometimes with gilded statues by the residents of Didyma.[23]

Honorary inscriptions for comptrollers, as for prophets, were placed on walls of buildings in Didyma. Some of these were prepared by outgoing comptrollers, but others record honors that the community of Didyma or occasionally the Milesian demos bestowed on them. In either kind the man is said to have performed his duties piously (*eusebôs*), usually as *tamias,* and justly (*dikaiôs*), usually as *pa-*

21. For comptrollers' accounts see *DI* 424–478; *parapraseis*: *DI* 391A I.13–14, 392B I.15–16, 406.6–8, 416.6–8; *BCH* 11 (1887): 306/307.10 (Kys in Caria); *IMagn* 179.20–28. In the last-cited inscription the benefactor made *parapraseis* at the butcher shop "of every kind at festivals and the time of his *agoranomia*, and during the month of Artemision, in the same year of his *agoranomia*, selling below cost unstintingly olive oil very much below the prevailing price in a time of great demand for olive oil."

22. *Milet* 1.3.36.64–66, 37.40–42, 145.39–41, 146.50–53, 150.19–22 (see R12).

23. *DI* 390B II, 392, 394, 395. On a *tamieion* building at Didyma see *DI* p. 235; Tuchelt 1973: 77–78. The *tamieion* mentioned in *DI* 529A, 576, may refer to the treasury of Miletos.

redreuôn; sometimes fairly (*isôs*), emulously (*philodoxôs,* i.e., with an eye to honor and glory), or another commendable adverb is added. Like the prophets, some comptrollers add their benefactions and extraordinary services rendered while in office. The father and son who held the comptrollership in the same year built an enclosure for the deity known as Angelos, dedicated an altar to Apollo, and had new wells dug. Another was comptroller when Ptolemy XII sent thirty-four ivory tusks to Didyma. Some mention other offices held, such as panegyriarch, gymnasiarch, or agonothet.[24]

The *syntamias* mentioned in two inscriptions is probably the other comptroller for the same year. There is mention in four inscriptions of an *hypotamias,* a deputy comptroller, second in command on the comptrollers' staff.[25]

OTHER CULT OFFICIALS

Several comptrollers' inscriptions that record the honors which the community of Didyma paid to an outgoing *tamias* list the cult officials and members of the community. In *DI* 394 they are, in the order listed, the prophet, hydrophor, *hypochrêstês,* scribes (*grammateis*), *neôkoroi,* the residents of the sanctuary, and the neighbors. In place of the three titles that follow the hydrophor, or of all titles that follow the prophet, some inscriptions substitute "all those around the Oracle" (*οἱ περὶ τὸ μαντεῖον πάντες*). Two include *syntamias,* probably the honored comptroller's colleague.[26]

The *hypochrêstês* was the prophet's aide. We know nothing about the office besides the title and its meaning; it is mentioned only in comptrollers' inscriptions and in one hydrophor's inscription.[27]

Since the scribes (*grammateis*) are listed with the prophet, hydrophor, *hypochrêstês,* and *neôkoroi,* they are likely to be the men who recorded the oracular responses spoken by the prophetess and put them into writing for the prophet to deliver to consultants. They

24. The honorary inscriptions of comptrollers are found in *DI* 389–416. Angelos: *DI* 406; Ptolemy's gift: *DI* 394.

25. *Syntamias*: *DI* 393.3, 400.8; *hypotamias* = *hyptamieuôn, DI* 391A I.15–17, II.10–12; 409.

26. *DI* 392–401. On *DI* 394, 395, see Fontenrose 1936: 55–56. On Didymaean officials see Günther 1971: 115–119.

27. *DI* 353.18–19, 393.8, 394.5, 398.7–8, 400.5; *Milet* 1.7.263.4. The title *hypophêtês* may appear in *DI* 587.11 (late imperial period), but the context is lost. The final syllable is restored; if correct, the title may be a poetic variation of *hypochrêstês.* See Iliad 16.234–235.

probably kept a record of each oracular session, reporting the consultant's name, the hour and date, the question asked, and the answer given. An honored comptroller had also been scribe of the god (γραμματεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ, *DI* 416.3–4), probably the full title, evidence that the *grammateis* of the inscriptions were cult officials.[28]

Neôkoros is a widespread title. The *neôkoroi* of a sanctuary had the duty of taking care of the temple and temenos. They supervised the cleansing of the temple, the keeping of sacred objects, and the sprinkling of entrants with holy water. In a word they were the sacristans or sextons of Greek sanctuaries. In early days the *neôkoroi* did the sweeping and cleaning themselves. Later the term became a title of some prestige: *neôkoroi* were the men in charge of physical maintenance, and either hired workers or temple slaves did the actual work of cleaning.[29]

Among the cult personnel of Didyma were the *Kosmoi,* but the inscriptions tell us nothing about their functions. One thing is clear from the cult law of the Kosmoi and Molpoi mentioned above: the Kosmoi stood in the same relation to the prophet of Apollo Didymeus as did the Molpoi to the stephanephor of Apollo Delphinios. The prophet was host of the Kosmoi and the stephanephor was host of the Molpoi at the festival of the Kosmoi and Molpoi. The Molpoi were apparently a priestly college of cantors, whose head (*aisymnêtês*) was the stephanephor. We may suppose that the Kosmoi had a similar character vis-à-vis the prophet. Rehm supposed that they had something to do with the adornment of the sanctuary: the name suggests such a function (*kosmos* = order or ornament), which may extend to keeping the buildings and grounds in order. But then how would their duties differ from those of the *neôkoroi?* In Crete *kosmoi* were the magistrates of city-states: each Cretan polis had an executive board of several *kosmoi;* Aristotle says that ten *kosmoi* held the executive power in Cretan cities, but apparently the number varied. From early times there were ties between Miletos and Crete; in fact, many Cretans were granted Milesian citizenship in the third century B.C. (R5–7), some from the homonymous city of Milatos, where the title *kosmos* is attested. Hence the term as a title of magistrates may have come from Crete to Miletos, and we may suppose that the Kosmoi were the governing council of Didyma. If that is true the body of Kosmoi

28. *DI* 84.11–12, 393.8, 394.6–7, 416.3–4. On *grammateis* at Klaros see Picard 1922: 259.

29. *DI* 50.1St45, 392.3–4, 394.7, 400.11. On the duties of *neôkoroi* see Stengel 1920: 51–52.

must have included the prophet, *hypochrêstês,* scribes, and comptrollers (and perhaps the *neôkoroi* too). And in view of their special relation to the prophet and their correspondence to the Molpoi I would suggest that the Kosmoi at Didyma had much the same position as the Hosioi at Delphi. If so, they sat beside the prophet at mantic sessions.[30]

The hydrophor, priestess of Artemis Pythie, is treated in chapter 7 in the section on cults of Artemis.

There were a number of minor offices at Didyma. The panegyriarch of the Great Didymeia presided over the quadrennial agonistic festival. The agonothet was director and umpire of athletic contests (perhaps of musical contests too), and so the agonothet of the Didymeia was subordinate to the panegyriarch, who governed the whole festival. A woman was once chosen to be agonothet of the Didymeia Kommodeia. There were also agonothets for contests at other festivals such as the Anoigmoi. There was probably a gymnasiarch of the gymnasium at Didyma, but the title in honorary inscriptions may refer to the post of gymnasiarch in the city of Miletos. An inscription, if correctly restored, mentions a *paraphylax,* perhaps the chief police officer under the *tamiai.* Three inscriptions of about 200 A.D. or later mention a *prostatês* (guardian) of Apollo Didymeus; one is called *monos prostatês* (reading uncertain). What the duties of this official could have been it is impossible to say (he could also be the chief police officer under the *tamiai*). Perhaps *prostatês* is no more than a late honorary title for benefactors. There is also evidence of choristers (*hymnôidoi*), probably singers of hymns in the worship of Apollo.[31]

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30. Cult law: *Milet* 1.3.134. Kosmoi festival: *DI* 268.6–8, 269.6–7, 270.6–7, 279b.6–7, 291.6, 312.20–21, 314.11–13, 322.6–8, 387. Cretan *Kosmoi*: Aristotle *Pol.* 1272a; many Cretan inscriptions, e.g., *ICret* 1.18.11.3–4, 12, 18.9 (Lyktos); 1.19.2.1, 3A.4 (Malla); 1.21.1 (Milatos); 3.3.4 *passim* (Hierapytna and Praisos); 3.3.9.6 (Hierapytna); 4.72 I.52–53, 80.5, 165.1, 167.3, 168.1, 171.2 (Gortyn); *Milet* 1.3.140.52 (Phaistos). See R. F. Willetts, *The Civilization of Ancient Crete* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), 170. On the Hosioi see Halliday 1928: 56–60; Fontenrose 1978: 218–219.

31. Panegyriarch: *DI* 333.15–16, 402; the title in several prophets' and comptrollers' inscriptions may refer to a city office, not specifically to the chief of the Didymaean festival. Agonothet: *DI* 84.4–5, 13–14, 16–17; 154.6–7, 156.9–10, 168.10–12, 252.2–3, 6–8; 253.7–9, 262.8–9, 278.4–5, 286.7–9, 339.9–10, 372.6–8, 375.16–17, 415.7–8; woman agonothet of Didymeia: *Milet* 1.7.265.13–14. Agonothet of the Anoigmoi: *DI* 382.6–8; it was a woman, a hydrophor, who served as agonothet on this occasion. *DI* 154, 173, 183, three inscriptions of around 200 A.D., name three agonothets of Apollo Didymeus, but the same three in each, two men and one woman of the Domitian family. They were not necessarily agonothets of the Didymeia in the same year; but perhaps two brothers and a sister were jointly appointed to the

As already said, there were temple slaves and probably free workers too who did the manual work and physical tasks of the sanctuary. A certain Philomelos dedicated five yokes of mules to Apollo along with five slaves to look after them (*DI* 458). Gangs of slaves worked on the construction of the Didymeion, quarrying, transporting, shaping, and laying in place the building stones. In the construction accounts they are called the god's boys (*τοῦ θεοῦ παῖδες*) and the sacred boys (*οἱ ἱεροὶ παῖδες*).[32]

office for this year. One man calls himself agonothet and *agôgeus* of the Great Didymeia Kommodeia: *Milet* 1.7.263.5–7. In several inscriptions, e.g., *DI* 255.3–4, 261.4–5, a prophet had served as gymnasiarch of all the gymnasia; and so, it appears, there was one gymnasiarch for the whole Milesian state. *Paraphylax*: *DI* 400.9–10. *Prostatês*: *DI* 252.3–4, 364.3–4, 375.14–15. There was a *προστάτης τῶν πατέρων* in the city: *DI* 255.4. The names of *hymnôidoi* are inscribed on the south steps of the *krêpidôma* used as stadium seats: *DI* 50.2A.67–68, 3St.17.

32. E.g., *DI* 31.4–5, 34.13–14, 35.9–10, 40.7–8, 41.60, 47.14. *DI* 41.60 mentions *hieroi paides* and the mules, perhaps the very slaves and mules of *DI* 458, since it appears to have been inscribed around 174/3, the date of *DI* 41.

IV

The Cult of Apollo Didymeus

SACRIFICES AND VOTIVE OFFERINGS

Sacrifices

There appears to be nothing unusual about the rites observed in the worship of the Didymaean Apollo. As in most Hellenic cults of the heavenly gods, the rite of sacrifice was central to the worship of Apollo. The Milesian state offered periodic sacrifices at festivals and on fixed occasions to Apollo Didymeus, and special non-recurring sacrifices at other times when called for; and probably the community of Didyma did so too. Individuals, both citizens and foreigners, made private sacrifices to the god when they felt the need to do so. The usual sacrifice was in essence a communion meal which the worshipers shared with the god(s), and as such it was an accompaniment to prayer, an offering made to the god in advance payment for the benefits requested in prayer. As elsewhere, hymns were sung during the rites. The ritual of the communion sacrifice at Didyma and elsewhere was probably much the same as that described in the Homeric poems.[1]

The animals sacrificed were oxen (meaning all bovine cattle) and sheep, as we learn from inscriptions of Didyma and Miletos, and no doubt goats were sacrificed too, perhaps included in the *hiereia* of inscriptions. When Seleukos Nikator and Antiochos sent votive offer-

1. See, e.g., Iliad 1.447–474; see "Sacrifice," *OCD* 943–945.

ings to Didyma in 288/7 they provided for the sacrifice of a thousand sheep and twelve oxen, which the Milesians were to sacrifice to Apollo Didymeus according to the instructions that Polianthes, conveyor of the votive objects to Didyma, would deliver to them. When the Molpoi went in procession to Didyma over the Sacred Way, they took with them as the city's gift a "hecatomb" of three sheep—one a ewe, another an ungelded ram, the third unspecified. In 200/199 the philanthropist Eudemos endowed the annual sacrifice of an unblemished ox (*bous hôs kallistos*) to Apollo Didymeus at the Didymeia every fourth year, at the Boegia in other years. According to Sextus Empiricus, horse sacrifices were taboo in the cult of Apollo in general, and the horse was especially odious to the Didymaean Apollo. When sacrifices were made at the great ash altar, votive astragaloi, as already noticed, were placed in the flames with the portions of victims that were burned entire.[2]

As noticed in the last chapter, treaties made with other city-states were often solemnized by sacrifices to Apollo Didymeus. In the decree ratifying the treaty with Herakleia-under-Latmos (180 B.C.) the prophet and resident comptroller were instructed to make sacrifices to Apollo Didymeus, Artemis, Leto, Zeus Soter, and Athena (all Didymaean deities except Athena, patroness of Herakleia). Likewise the stephanephor and his associates (the Molpoi) would make sacrifice to the Delphinian Apollo, and the priest of Hestia with the prytanes and other officials to Hestia Bûlaia. Just where the sacrifices were made is not specified, nor is it clear whether all sacrifices were made at one altar and at one time, or separately. I would suppose the former, that the prophet and comptroller made all the treaty sacrifices together on the ash altar at Didyma. About thirty years earlier a treaty with Seleukeia/Tralleis on exchange of citizenships was solemnized with sacrifices made by the prophet and comptroller to Apollo Didymeus and by the stephanephor to Apollo Delphinios. On at least two occasions around 225 B.C., when many Cretans were admitted to Milesian citizenship (see R5–7), the prophet and comptroller were instructed to make sacrifices to Apollo Didymeus, and the priest and prytanes to Hestia Bûlaia and Zeus Bûlaios; on one of these occasions

2. Seleukos-Antiochos' offerings: *DI* 424.21–25, 61–62. Molpoi: *Milet* 1.3.133.19–20; Eudemos: *Milet* 1.3.145.69–71. The term *hiereion* meant at first any sacrificial victim; at Miletos it came to mean sheep (perhaps including goats, as in *DI* 424.62, where *hiereia* are distinguished from *bous*). On horse-sacrifice see Sext. Emp. *Hyp.* 3.221. For sacrifices of oxen see *DI* 217.1 (RB1). Hymns: *DI* 217.6–9 (RB1), 537.8–13.

the stephanephor was instructed to make sacrifices to Apollo Delphinios. When the treaties were ratified the Milesian demos directed the priests and other officials to pray that the compacts be advantageous to both cities; when Cretans were granted Milesian citizenship, the demos bade them pray that the grants of citizenship be to the safety and harmony of all Milesians.[3]

An oath is a suspended curse upon oneself, should one violate the oath; the usual curse is a prayer for evil to come upon another person. It is not surprising that the Milesians invoked Apollo Didymeus in oaths. In the aforesaid treaty with Herakleia the participants swore by Apollo Didymeus, Hestia Bûlaia, Zeus, Athena, and the other gods (*Milet* 1.3.150.112–114).

For the solemnizing of treaties the prophet and comptroller were directed to make sacrifices and processions of victims (*prosodoi hierôn*). Apparently every sacrifice was preceded by a procession of the officiating priests, victims, attendants carrying sacred objects and utensils (including those who actually slaughtered, dismembered, and burned or cooked the severed parts of the victims), and the persons in whose behalf the sacrifice was made—city officials in public sacrifices and the interested persons (those who had ordered the making of sacrifice) in private sacrifices. The procession started at a longer or shorter distance from the altar according to the nature of the occasion and the number of participants and victims: at a private sacrifice with few participants and perhaps one victim the procession would move over only a short distance, perhaps no more than a hundred feet. The aforementioned Eudemos, who founded a school for boys in 200 B.C. and endowed the annual sacrifice of an excellent ox at the Didymeia or Boegia, directed that the sacrifice be preceded by a procession of the *paidonomoi* with boys selected by them, the boys' elected overseers, and Eudemos as long as he lived (after that the eldest of his descendants). When the ox had been sacrificed, the paidonomoi were directed to apportion the meat to all participants in the procession.[4]

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3. *Milet* 1.3.150.18–25 (Herakleia; see R12), 143.39–43 (Seleukeia/Tralleis), 36.63–78 and 37.40–46 (Cretans). For sacrifices solemnizing other treaties of citizenship exchange see *Milet* 1.3.144.7–12 (unknown city), 146.20–22, 73–78 (Mylasa).

4. *Milet* 1.3.145.68–77. The Hellenic sacrifice resembles the *corrida*, which always begins with a procession of *matadores* and other *toreros* from the entrance towards the presiding officer's stand directly opposite.

Votive Offerings

As we might expect, votive offerings made to Apollo at Didyma consisted of the same kinds of objects, both valuable and commonplace, as those made to other gods at other shrines. We have noticed some offerings of the pre-Persian period—Nechos' battle raiment and Croesus' rich gifts. Thales may have dedicated a tripod to Apollo, but that it was a prize for superior wisdom and given to Apollo at Didyma is perhaps pseudo-historical.[5]

The most common offering to Apollo Didymeus was the *phialê,* a shallow bowl. Wealthy men offered golden *phialai.* In comptrollers' accounts and other inscriptions we find mention of one or more lampstands, golden censers, vases of various kinds (*psyktêr, hydria*), cups of various kinds (*potêrion, skyphos, prousias*), trenchers, jugs, pots, vessels for lustral water (*perirantêria*), baskets, golden crowns, coal pans, gilded oxhorns. Among the rich offerings that Seleukos I and Antiochos sent in 288/7 (*DI* 424) was a pair of reversible deer-head drinking cups (*palimpota*) weighing 318 drachmas, 3 obols, with the inscription "Apollo's." Other vases and cups were inscribed to other Didymaean deities; but those without inscription (lines 50–62) were apparently given to Apollo Didymeus, perhaps in association with the other deities: a gold bread-platter, a silver cup (*skyphos*) with figures in relief, a large silver cooler (*psyktêr*), a large bronze lampstand, one talent of myrrh, two minas each of cassia, cinnamon, and

5. Diog. Laert. 1.29 tells the story of the golden tripod found by fishermen, whom an oracle (Q76, ascribed by some sources to Delphi, but probably Didymaean in the original legend) directed to give it to the man who was first in wisdom. They brought it to Thales, but he sent it to Pittakos, and it went the round of the seven wise men, coming back to Thales, who dedicated it to Apollo at Didyma. Diogenes quotes a verse inscription of a dedication to Apollo Didymeus, and then quotes a prose inscription, no doubt that which was actually inscribed on the tripod or its base: *τὸ δὲ πέζον οὕτως ἔχει· Θαλῆς Ἐξαμύου Μιλήσιος Ἀπόλλωνι Δελφινίῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀριστεῖον δὶς λαβών,* "The prose is as follows: Thales Examyos' son to Apollo Delphinios having twice received the Hellenes' prize." Thales had received a prize (*aristeion*), but he does not specify for what, and he dedicated the tripod to Apollo Delphinios, i.e., at the Delphinion in the city. Since the inscription is in prose and the dedication is made to Apollo Delphinios, it has the appearance of a genuine dedication. This inscription may have inspired the legend with Apollo Didymeus substituted for Delphinios, and with a dedicatory epigram and an oracle invented for it. In fact, in the original legend Thales may have offered the tripod at the Delphinion. According to Callim. *Iamboi* 1.52–63 (191 Pf.), the Arcadian Thyrion, bringing the cup of Bathykles (variant of the tripod), found Thales drawing geometric figures in the soil of the Didymeion. The sandy soil of the Delphinion suits the story better than the packed limestone soil of the Didymeion. This I say from my own experience of the soil at both sites, and there is no likelihood that the soil at Didyma was sandy around 600 B.C. That is, the legend-teller referred the incident to a suitable site.

a spice called *kostos,* besides a thousand sheep and twelve oxen, as already mentioned.[6]

We have noticed that Ptolemy Theos and his son sent offerings of many ivory tusks to Apollo; those sent by the son at least were intended for the great door of the east chamber. Around 270 B.C. the demos of the Milesians offered a silver tripod to Apollo, weighing 3345 Alexandrian drachmas (*DI* 433.4–7). We have also noticed the dedication of yokes of mules with slaves to attend them (*DI* 458). Sculptures, many in metal, were fairly often dedicated to Apollo as adornment of the sanctuary. Sometime after 22 A.D. the artisans who worked on Apollo's temple dedicated a statue of Meniskos—who had been envoy to the Emperor Tiberius (*DI* 107)—to Apollo Didymeus and Artemis Pythie. Some sculptures of kings, emperors, Roman officials, and prominent men, as of Attalos II, his brother Athenaios, and the Emperor Constantius Chlorus, are not inscribed as dedications, but were probably meant to be gifts to Apollo Didymeus.[7]

From comptrollers' accounts and from dedicatory inscriptions we observe that not only the city-state of Miletos, Milesian citizens, and neighboring Ionian cities and their citizens made offerings to Apollo Didymeus, but also Hellenistic kings (Seleukids, Ptolemies, Prusias I and II of Bithynia), Roman emperors (Trajan, Macrinus), a tetrarch of the Trokmian Gauls (Brogitaros, whose ancestral god [*patrôos*] was Apollo Didymeus), Milesian colonies (e.g., Kyzikos, Kios), Dorian cities, Carian cities, and many citizens of distant cities (e.g., Cyprian Salamis).[8]

FESTIVALS

Didymeia

We know almost nothing about festivals at Didyma before 300 B.C. We have fifth-century evidence for the procession of the Molpoi periodically from Miletos to Didyma, and we are told that at a festival of Apollo a certain Amphitres killed King Laodamas of Miletos

6. See *DI* 424–478.

7. See *DI* 143–149, 160.

8. Seleukids: *DI* 424, 475.29–31, 479, 480; *Milet* 1.7.193a. Ptolemies: *DI* 218 II, 394, 475.33–35, 477. Prusias I and II: *DI* 463.10–16, 22–25; 469, 473.3–4. Emperors: *DI* 57; *Milet* 1.7.274. Brogitaros: *DI* 475.35–41. Milesian colonies: *DI* 427.6–8, 447.7–8, 463.17–18, 475.17–18. Several cities: *DI* 475. Salamis: *DI* 446.9–11.

(about 700) on the road over which the king was driving a hecatomb for sacrifice to the god. A festival at Didyma and the Sacred Way from Miletos to Didyma may very well have been meant as the festival and road of this story; but we cannot be sure that a city festival of Apollo is not meant. The pre-Persian festival of Apollo at Didyma may have been purely religious in nature, an occasion of processions, sacrifices, and other rites, but it very likely included athletic and choral contests. Just after 300 occurs the first certain mention of a Didymaean festival of Apollo. In the decree of 299/8 that honors Antiochos for his benefactions, he is granted *proedria* in the Milesian Dionysia and in Didyma at the choral contests (and perhaps athletic contests too). Whether or not the festival was called Didymeia in this decree depends upon the soundness of a restoration of lost text in this clause.[9]

Towards the end of the third century, on concluding a treaty with Miletos, the citizens of Seleukeia/Tralles voted to have a procession, make sacrifice, and perform other acts of worship (*timai*) for Apollo Didymeus, *archêgetês* of the alliance, at the times when the Milesians did so. Here the festival is not named, but is observed annually, and no contests are mentioned.[10]

Between 210 and 200 the Milesians instituted the Didymeian festival as a "crowned" athletic festival (*agôn stephanitês*) to be held every four years. They meant the games to be isopythian as the neighboring Magnesians had proclaimed their Leukophryenia about twenty years earlier; this would be another panhellenic athletic festival. The Koan inscription from which we learn about the Milesians' institution of the "crowned" games is dated about 196 B.C., but a Didymaean inscription informs us that the change had been made before 200. When the philanthropist Eudemos founded his school for boys, he pro-

9. Killing of Laodamas: Nic. Dam. 52J. Antiochos decree: *DI* 479.36–38. Rehm adopted Haussoullier's (1902: 35) restoration of 37–38: *τοῖς Διονυσίοις καὶ ἐν Διδύμο[ις τοῖς Διδυμείοις ἐν]/ τοῖς κυκλίοις ἀγῶσιν* (except that Haussoullier read *καὶ* for *ἐν*), "at the Dionysia and in Didyma at the Didymeia at the choral contests." There is some awkwardness in the placing of *τοῖς Διδυμείοις* immediately after *ἐν Διδύμοις*; it is needless to specify that the Didymeia took place in Didyma. And if this was the text we must suppose that the Didymeia had no athletic contests in the early third century; for surely Antiochos would have been given a front seat for all contests. I would suggest *ἐν Διδύμο[ις τοῖς γυμνικοῖς καὶ] / τοῖς κυκλίοις ἀγῶσιν*, "in Didyma at the athletic and the choral contests." See Fontenrose 1942: 173–174, where I imprudently restored *ἀθλητικοῖς* for *γυμνικοῖς*, though aware that the latter is the epigraphic term, as pointed out by L. Robert, *REG* 59/60 (1946/47): 349. At this time, perhaps, the festival was not yet commonly known as Didymeia, although the name may have been in use.

10. *Milet* 1.3.143.8–11, 64–66.

vided, as already noticed, for the sacrifice of an ox every fourth year at the Didymeia and in other years at the Boegia. The date of the Milesian decree which honors Eudemos is 200/199, and we may suppose that the enlarged festival had been celebrated only once or twice previously. This decree informs us that the festival was pentaeteric, i.e., quadrennial in our reckoning.[11]

An Olympian inscription which mentions *theôroi* sent to the sacrifices and games of the Didymeia was dated by its first editors in 250–240 and would be evidence that the festival was called Didymeia before it became panhellenic, if that date were correct; but it is now fairly certain that this inscription is not earlier than 200 B.C.[12]

The Milesian proclamation calls the festival simply the Didymeia. In inscriptions thereafter they are more often called Megala (Great) Didymeia. The years in which they were held are nowhere clearly made known. But if we can know under what certainly dated stephanephor a prophet *panêgyrikos* served, then we can know the year of the Didymeia. Aristeas Lysimachos' son was prophet *panêgyrikos* when Hegemandros Amphithemis' son was stephanephor in 19/18. The Didymeia, then, occurred in 19, the year following the Olympiad of 20 B.C. The year after the Olympics is confirmed by the year in which Publius Aelius Granianus Phanias Artemidorus was prophet *panêgyrikos,* which was the year when the consuls were the Emperor Septimius Severus for the third time and his son Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla). This was the year 202 A.D., next after the Olympiad of 201. This dating of Didymeian years appears validated by the inscriptions which concern the restoration of the festival's management to Miletos, after Rome had controlled it for about twenty years. A hydrophor (*DI* 367), in whose term the restoration occurred, served under the prophet Eukrates Eukrates' son and stephanephors Menodoros (64/3) and Basileides (63/2), this being within the period when the Didymaean and Milesian calendars differed. The prophet Eu-

11. Koan inscription: *SIG* 590 (see R10). Eudemos decree: *Milet* 1.3.145 (reference to Didymeia, lines 69–71). An embassy to Rome in the third century A.D. spoke of the games as equal to those of the Pythian festival: *DI* 332.9–10. See Günther 1971: 100–107.

12. *IOlympia* 5.39 = Michel 197 = Schwyzer 425, lines 35–40. See Herzog 1905: 985; L. Robert, "Notes d'épigraphie hellénique," *BCH* 53 (1929): 153 note 2; Günther 1971: 104 note 19. For a later date see *DI* p. 278. The new status of the Didymeia appears to be recognized also in a much damaged inscription of Aptera in Crete, L. Robert, *Hellenica* 1 (Paris, 1940): 113–114. The visible text records Aptera's recognition of the *asylia* of Didyma, which the Milesian proclamation invited all cities to recognize along with acceptance of the crowned *agôn*. See p. 19 note 33.

krates records that he recovered the holy *panêgyris*—that is, he succeeded in persuading the Romans to restore the direction of the Didymeia to Miletos—when Basileides was stephanephor (*DI* 230 I). This means the year 63, which follows the Olympic year 64. So far, so good. But a difficulty arises. The comptroller Timodemos, calling himself *tamias panêgyrikos,* served his term under stephanephor Artemon Thrasonides' son in 17/8, the year of the Olympics. The comptroller Dionysios may have been *panêgyrikos* when the Emperor Trajan was prophet, which Rehm conjectured to be in the year 101/2, an Olympic year; but the restoration *panêgyrikos* is uncertain (only a portion of the first letter is visible and it is not certainly pi). Hence for Dionysios both the year of service and the title are uncertain, but Timodemos' year of service is unquestionably 17/8. There are two possible solutions of this inconsistency in dating the Didymeia. Perhaps *panêgyrikos* has a different meaning when modifying *tamias* from its meaning as modifier of *prophêtês.* But what could it mean if not service in the year of the Didymeia? Could another *panêgyris* be meant? Perhaps Timodemos was panegyriarch of a city festival or of an Ionian or provincial festival. Or it may be that the year of celebration of the Didymeia was changed for a period sometime between 18 B.C. and 202 A.D. from the year following the Olympic year to the Olympic year. This seems unlikely, but it could have happened.[13]

The first quadrennial Didymeia I would place in 207 or 203. It could be that the festival began on the seventh of a month, always sacred to Apollo, since he was born on a seventh; and the time could be anywhere from the spring equinox to mid fall.

Many victors' inscriptions have been found at Didyma, either victors' dedicatory inscriptions or, much more numerous, inscriptions written in honor of victors; in addition, occasional victors' inscriptions of other cities list victories in the Didymeia. Most of these inscriptions specify contests for boys—boxing, wrestling, stadium race, *diaulos* (double course), pankration, and pentathlon; for *ageneioi,* the beardless youths between boyhood and manhood—boxing; for men—boxing and perhaps wrestling; age class not specified—long

13. *DI* 227b II, 390B II: prophet Aristeas; *DI* 81, 243, 244: prophet P. Ael. Granianus Phanias Artemidorus; *DI* 230 I, 367: prophet Eukrates; *DI* 410: *tamias* Timodemos; *DI* 407: *tamias* Dionysios; *Milet* 1.3.125.37: date of stephanephor Basileides; *Milet* 1.3.126.49: date of stephanephor Hegemandros; *Milet* 1.3.127.41: date of stephanephor Artemon. On the date of Trajan as prophet see *DI* p. 210.

run (*makros dromos*). These are the attested contests; but surely each age class had a full program of customary contests.[14]

The performing arts were represented by contests in tragedy, *kitharôdia* (singing to the lyre), choral song, and some kinds of arts performed by *Timotheastai* and *Hêgêsiastai,* perhaps musical contests in the manner of Timotheos and oratorical contests in the manner of Hegesias. In the imperial period some contests were held in Miletos. One man won the tragic contest at the Didymeia in the sanctuary and the kitharodic contest at the Great Didymeia in Miletos (*DI* 183.5–9). No doubt at some date contests were divided between sanctuary and city so that contests could be held in the theatre of Miletos. One would suppose that tragic contests would require the theatre, but only the cited inscription mentions tragic contests, which took place in the sanctuary, where there was no theatre; we can only suppose that these tragedies were performed in the stadium. It could be that in some celebrations of the Didymeia tragedies were presented in the Milesian theatre, or that there were performances in both places in every Didymeian year. The victors' inscriptions mention victories in stadium and *diaulos* races, wrestling, and *pankration* at the Didymeia in the sanctuary (*ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ*). This may imply that some athletic contests took place in the city, but more likely the phrase is meant only to emphasize the locale. Again two victors' inscriptions of other cities, Athens and Ephesos, record victories in the stadium race and youths' (*ageneiôn*) boxing at the Didymeia in Miletos; but here probably Miletos means all Milesian territory including Didyma; these and similar inscriptions, which list many victories at many festivals, name only cities as locales of the festivals.[15]

Probably the torch race (*lampas*) was not a Didymeian event. No inscription mentions the Didymeia as the occasion. The victor's achievement is always expressed in the same formula: *νικήσαντα λαμπάδα τὴν ἀπὸ βωμοῦ καὶ λαμπάδα τὴν πρὸς βωμόν*, "winning the torch race from the altar and the torch race to the altar." This seems

14. Boys' contests—boxing: *DI* 97a, 179 (the victor won his first victory when four years old); wrestling: *DI* 95a, 161–171, 171a; stadium race: *DI* 77a, 172, 173; *IBM* 611; *diaulos*: *DI* 172; pankration: *DI* 176–178; pentathlon: *IPriene* 235. *Ageneioi*'s contests—*IBM* 605; cf. *DI* 97b. Men's contests—*DI* 97a, *IBM* 605, and perhaps *DI* 180. Long run: *DI* 104a II. See Luigi Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (Rome: Signorelli, 1953), 126–127, 257–259.

15. Performing arts—tragedy: *DI* 183, 184; choral contests (*kyklioi*): *DI* 479.37–38; *kitharôdia*: *DI* 183, cf. 182; others: *DI* 181. *DI* 172, 173, 177, and 180 specify *ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ*. Athenian inscriptions: *IG* 2^2.3169/70.28. Ephesian inscription: *IBM* 605.4.

to mean two torch races, one from the altar as starting point, the other to the altar as goal. The victor has won both in every recorded instance, and it could be that he received honors from the council and people only if he won both. There is no indication in the formula whether the victor carried the torch on both runs or had a relay. But the formula may be conventional for a single race without relay, or for a relay race in which each of the two victors received credit for victory in the whole run. This seems to be the case for the torch-race victors in the year when Publius Aelius Granianus was prophet (*DI* 188, 189): two men were honored as torch-race victors in that year. The altar mentioned is probably the great altar of ashes before the temple. A relief from the Milesian theatre shows two runners starting from a conical object beside which stands the Kanachos Apollo (here the artist has taken a liberty, unless on certain occasions the image was placed beside the altar). Apparently the race was run around the temple, from the altar and back to it, and, if a relay race, the torch was passed behind the temple. This event, I believe, was not attached to any single festival: it was not only a contest, but also a ritual act at Didyma.[16]

When the Didymeia became an *agôn stephanitês* victors were rewarded with crowns of bay leaves. From an epigram that closes one victor's inscription we learn that he won the holy wreath of bay three times. Probably as elsewhere the victors hung their wreaths on the temple walls as a thank-offering to the god. In the imperial period it became the custom to honor the victors with a statue set up in the sanctuary. The council and people of Miletos voted the honors, but sometimes the statue was erected by the victor's father or brother or by the agonothets. In the late third century, no doubt, the section of the sanctuary allotted to victors' statues was a crowded jungle of human figures.[17]

After 200 the Didymeia festival was a *panêgyris,* a great festival assembly, in which the athletic and other contests, the *agôn* (always

16. *DI* 185–191; see *DI* pp. 148–149. For the theatre relief see p. 41 note 21; for a Milesian coin-type modeled on the relief see Kekule von Stradonitz 1904: 797, 800. Inscriptions, relief, and coins are dated between 100 and 300 A.D. But see *DI* 346.10–13 (7/6), recording the prophet Demetrios' dedication of two statues of torch-bearers in the Didymeion in probably the second century B.C. Tuchelt 1973: 105–106 believes that these statues stood on two round bases found at the inner corners of the pronaos.

17. Epigram: *DI* 77a. A Milesian coin-type has the inscription ΔΙΔΥΜΕΙΑ ΜΕΙΛΗΣΙΩΝ set within a bay wreath: *BMGC,* Ionia, p. 201, no. 166. For statues see *DI* 163–168, 173, 175, 179–181. Some inscriptions (or the visible texts) do not mention a statue, but were inscribed on statue bases; see *DI* 161–184.

singular), received most attention; it was the contests that people came to see from the city and abroad. As observed in the last chapter, a panegyriarch presided over the *panêgyris;* an agonothet supervised the *agôn.*

Like any other major Hellenic festival, we can be sure, the Didymeia began with a great procession and sacrifice on the first morning. All city and cult officials walked in the procession and participated in the sacrifice. Oxen were sacrificed—how many we cannot know—but in a verse inscription the festival is called the great *bouthysia* (ox-sacrifice). A separate sacrifice of an ox was made at the Didymeia by the staff and pupils of Eudemos' school, already noticed. No doubt many sheep and goats were also sacrificed. The number of victims would have to be large: this was a communion sacrifice, in effect a huge barbecue, of which perhaps thousands partook, probably most male Milesian citizens and the *theôroi* and other distinguished visitors from other cities. The sacrifice began when a chorus of girls from all twelve Milesian tribes sang a hymn to Apollo.[18]

Theôroi and athletes came to these quadrennial celebrations from many cities, mostly from cities of Asia and the Aegean islands, as from Seleukeia/Tralleis and Kos; but we have noticed *theôroi* from Olympia in perhaps the early second century B.C. There was a victor from Athens, as well as from Priene, Iasos, Ephesos, and Sinope. No doubt every Milesian colony sent *theôroi.* The cities and colonies that made offerings of *phialai* to Apollo, as recorded in comptrollers' accounts, probably did so through the *theôroi* that they sent to the Didymeia.[19]

From near the end of the second century A.D., or perhaps later, the festival added the name Kommodeia, becoming the Megala Didymeia Kommodeia. This means that the Emperor Commodus was honored along with Apollo at the annual celebration. The Kommodeia were probably not introduced while Commodus was emperor, but after 197. In 196 the Emperor Septimius Severus had himself adopted into the Antonine family; thereafter Severan emperors had

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18. *DI* 537.12–13: *πρῶται δ' ἐκ φυλ[ῶν δυ]ωκαίδεκα παῖδες ἀνε[ῖπον] / Φοίβω[ι] τῆι μεγά[ληι πρ]ῶτ' ἐπὶ βουθυσίηι,* "And first girls from the twelve tribes sang for Phoibos at the great ox-sacrifice." These girls were, I believe, distinct from the chorus of eighty women mentioned in 8–9: *ὧν* (sc. *φυλῶν*) *α[ἱ] μὲμ Φοῖβόν τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ὀ[λβοδοτῆρας] ὀγδ[ώ]κονθ' ἁ[δινοῦ] ἦισαν ἀπὸ στ[όμα]τος,* "and of these tribes eighty women sang of Phoibos and Artemis, wealth-givers, with loud voice." From these verses we learn that Artemis Pythie was honored on this day. The date is early second century B.C., therefore shortly after the beginning of the panhellenic festival.

19. See *IG* 2^2.3169/70.28; *IBM* 605, 611, 929; *IPriene* 235; pp. 66, 67 above, and note 8.

the name Marcus Aurelius Antoninus along with Caesar and others (Antoninus seemed to be on its way to becoming an imperial title like Caesar, and the practice survived the Severan dynasty). In 197 Commodus was rehabilitated by Septimius Severus; though hardly more admirable than Nero or Domitian, he was an Antonine and so received divine honors. Hence, I believe, Commodus first received the honor of having his name joined to the Didymeia after his death and no earlier than 197 (perhaps for the first time in the festival of 198). No doubt the addition of Kommodeia to the Didymeia was a move to please the Emperor Septimius. Around 250 the Milesian Selandros went twice to Rome on behalf of the Didymeia Kommodeia and the immunity of the games from taxation as being equal to the Pythian Games; and he was successful on both missions.[20]

Feast of the Kosmoi

As has been noticed, the prophet had the duty of holding the feast of the Kosmoi, at which he entertained the college at a banquet. This duty was reaffirmed in a cult law of the late first century A.D. Several prophets, we have seen, recorded their performance of this duty. Apparently the feast lasted as long as the prophet wished: one boasted that he had entertained the Kosmoi for twelve days. The women and *parthenoi* of Didyma were entertained at this feast by the hydrophor of Artemis Pythie.[21]

In the same cult law the stephanephor's duty of holding the feast of the Molpoi was reaffirmed. The document does not demand that we suppose a simultaneous celebration of the feasts of Kosmoi and Molpoi; yet it is reasonable to believe that they were celebrated together at Didyma. The cult ordinance of the Molpoi, pre-Persian in origin (p. 28), provided that whenever the stephanephors (meaning the college of Molpoi) go to Didyma, the city give them a "hecatomb" of three sheep (*ὅταν στεφανηφόροι ἴωσιν ἐς Δίδυμα ἡ πόλις διδοῖ ἑκατόνβην*). A few lines further on, the procession of the Molpoi from Miletos to Didyma is described. They carry two *gylloi* (probably baskets of offerings) covered with garlands: one they place beside the image of Hekate just outside the south gate of the city, pouring a libation of pure wine and singing paeans to Hekate; the other

20. *DI* 156, 163, 168, 195, 252, 278, 305, 333, 372, 375; *Milet* 1.3.121, 1.7.263, 265. An inscription of Iasos, *REG* 6 (1893): 183 (25).73 refers to Sebasta Didymeia at Miletos. These were two different festivals as shown by Didymaean inscriptions: *DI* 183.5–9, 339.9–12. The (Nea) Sebasta were held in Miletos. Selandros' missions: *DI* 332.

21. *Milet* 1.3.134; *DI* 268; other citations, p. 61 note 30.

they place at the doors in Didyma (ὁ δ' ἕτερος ἐς Δίδυμα ἐπὶ θύρας τίθεται). The first stretch of the Sacred Way, southward from the city gate, is fairly level. Then the road crosses hills (Stephania); from the summit it goes through a forest (see Map 2 and p. 28). The Molpoi sang paeans to Dynamis somewhere on the stretch between Hekate's image and the summit. Then they sang paeans to the nymphs in a meadow at the summit. After leaving the nymphs' shrine the procession stopped to sing paeans at a shrine or image of Hermes Enkeladou; after that it stopped to sing paeans and offer incense at the altar or image of Phylios (apparently a hero), and then at a place called Keraiites to sing paeans and to sacrifice a sheep in the *panthyon etos* (all-sacrifice year). In a fifth-century inscription the term cannot mean the Didymeia, which in any case is never so called elsewhere; it may be some observance in the cult of Apollo Delphinios. Finally just before reaching the sanctuary gate at Didyma the Molpoi stopped to sing paeans at the Chares statues, which lined the Sacred Way along this stretch. Unfortunately the Molpoi inscription tells us nothing about what happened after they reached Didyma. Probably on one occasion in the year the Molpoi joined the prophet and Kosmoi in celebrating a combined feast of Kosmoi and Molpoi, which would last for several days. But the processions were probably not limited to that feast. Since the inscription reads, "Whenever stephanephors go to Didyma," it is likely that the Molpoi walked in procession to Didyma, making the prescribed stops for paeans and sacrifices, on other occasions than the Kosmoi-Molpoi feast; the Didymeia must certainly have been another occasion for the procession. The cult ordinance directs offerings of incense to Phylios every year (πάντ' ἔτεα), which may mean once every year; this direction would be unnecessary if the procession occurred only once a year, and no such specification is made for the other stations of the procession.[22]

Anoigmoi

Several inscriptions mention a festival (*panêgyris, heortê*) of the Anoigmoi (Openings). Nilsson conjectured that this festival cele-

22. *Milet* 1.3.133.18–20, 25–31. Other parts of the Molpoi cult-law do not concern the procession. It may be that the procession had nothing to do with the Molpoi feast, but in view of *Milet* 1.3.134 I believe that it must have been a preliminary. EM 504, citing Callimachus (217 Pf.), defines *Keraïstês* as a place in Miletos where Apollo fixed a ram's horns in the ground when he was milking it. Pfeiffer emends to *Keraiitês*, no doubt correctly. This looks like a humorous story about the child Apollo, as yet ignorant of sex differences; the place name probably gave rise to the tale.

brated the beginning of oracular activity after a hypothetical absence of Apollo through the winter months. But there is no sure evidence of a Didymaean belief in an absence of Apollo for any length of time, and what we know about the festival has more to do with boys and women than with oracular activity. At the *panêgyris* of the Anoigmoi a prophet provided olive oil and ointment for the women in all the baths (*DI* 254.6–9). Another prophet gave dinners to the boys for four days at the Anoigmoi *hypo sêmean,* which seems to mean "under the standard [flag, *sêmaia*]"; we are told no more than that (*DI* 297.5–8). Another gave a *dianomê* (distribution) to the boys at the Anoigmoi (*DI* 269/270.10–11). The festival included athletic contests (*gymnikos agôn*), which a hydrophor managed one year, probably as agonothet (*DI* 385 I); another hydrophor served as agonothet at the Anoigmoi festival (*DI* 382). Thus we find that boys were entertained at dinner or given something of value, that unguents were provided for the women's baths, that there were athletic contests probably only for boys, or perhaps for boys and girls, and that hydrophors of Artemis Pythie sometimes took on the *agonothesia* or even the management of the contests. So the Anoigmoi may be a festival of passage from childhood to youth, marking entrance upon a new period of life, when a boy (or girl) had reached the threshold of mature life and activity in the community.[23]

23. See Nilsson 1906: 178. According to Men. Rhet. *Enk.* 4, 336 Sp., *apodêmiai* of Apollo were recognized by Delians and Milesians. This tells us little and "Milesian" does not necessarily mean "Didymaean." All inscriptions that mention Anoigmoi are dated in the second century A.D. except perhaps *DI* 297 (stone lost and now undatable).

V

The Oracle of Apollo Didymeus

THE PRE-PERSIAN ORACLE

All that we know about the operations of the Oracle at Didyma before 494 B.C. is that the Branchidai controlled and operated it; and we have records of three authentic oracular responses from that period (R1–3). Whether the Branchidai were a clan (*genos*), extended family, or a college or association (*synodos, thiasos, koinon*) cannot be said. The terms are not mutually exclusive; an extended family may become a clan, and associations of men engaged in a common trade or profession or activity were often organized as *genê;* new entrants were adopted into them, and they claimed descent from a common ancestor, as the Asklepiads (physicians) from Asklepios, the Homerids (rhapsodes) from Homer, and the Daidalids (craftsmen) from Daidalos.[1]

The professional and craft associations, it is true, were not confined to a single locality as were the Branchidai, at least in later times; but the Homerids appear to have been resident at first only on Chios.

1. See Edelstein 1945: 2.54–62 (57–58 on adoption). Asklepiads: Plato *Phaidros* 270c, *Prot.* 311b; Chor. Gaz. 3.16; Tzetzes *Chil.* 637–639; Farnell 1921: 267–268; Edelstein *loc. cit.* and T217–231. The Asklepiads are called *genos* by Galen *Anat. adm.* 2.1, *Comp. med.* 9.4; the Homerids are so called in *Cert.* 14–15 (p. 226 Allen). The Euangelidai, associated with the Branchidai, are called *genos* in Conon *Narr.* 44. The ancients in general tended to look upon an occupational fellowship as a *genos* whose members had a common descent: see Genesis 4.20–22: Jabal was ancestor of all cattle-raisers, Jubal of all musicians, and Tubalcain of all smiths.

Yet in western Asia Minor there were similar families of seers who were probably not all truly kinsmen as descendants of a single ancestor. In Lykian Telmessos there lived the Telmessoi, whom Croesus consulted just before the fall of Sardis. The Telmessoi, we are told, were gifted in the interpretation of portents, but this surely does not mean all residents of the town. In the origin legend (*aition*) of the Gordian knot, as Arrian reports it, King Gordios of Phrygia went to the Telmessoi, the manteis, for interpretation of a portent and came to a certain village (*kômê*) of these people (that is, they had more than one village in their community). There he found a maiden drawing water from a well, who, says Arrian, belonged to the mantic *genos;* and in these words Arrian lets us understand that the *genos* did not include all residents of the town or village cluster (the maiden interpreted the portent and became Gordios' queen). The Branchidai were probably an association of the same sort, claiming a fictive ancestor in Branchos: they and the Telmessoi (descended from the eponym Telmessos and likewise giving their name to their place of residence), even if they began as families, became associations of diviners. The Telmessoi apparently remained just a group of independent practitioners, any one of whom could be consulted, whereas the Branchidai developed an Oracle, an establishment with a fixed mantic procedure and a regular personnel.[2]

In the foundation myth, the ancestor of the Branchidai, Branchos, was the first speaker of oracles at Didyma, so we may suppose that a male mantis spoke responses there before 494 B.C.; and he may have been assisted by an Euangelos as reporter of responses to consultants or others.[3]

THE MANTIC SESSION AND RITUAL

We know nothing about how the Branchidai conducted a mantic session, and we know little more about mantic operations after 334 B.C. The prophet, we can be sure, presided over the mantic session, probably assisted by the *hypochrêstês* and Kosmoi. A woman (*prophêtis, promantis*) received the god's inspiration and spoke his message. Perhaps in some respects Delphi was the model for the renewed

2. Herod. 1.78 (see also 1.84.3); Arrian 2.3.3–4 (also 1.25.8); Cic. *Div.* 1.41.91, 42.94.

3. Conon *Narr.* 33, 44; Varr. *ap.* Lact. Plac. *Theb.* 8.198; Strabo 9.3.9, 421; see pp. 45–46 with note 1 above.

Didymaean Oracle, whence the Milesians adopted the office of prophetess and some features of the Delphic mantic procedure. Late in the third century A.D. Iamblichos gives us almost all the information we have about mantic operations at Didyma, and he drew this from Porphyry. Most of what he tells us can be trusted, since he is for the most part sound on mantic rites at Klaros. It was only about a century before the end of Oracles when Iamblichos wrote this, but the operations had probably changed little in six centuries; at any rate we have no evidence of any change made.[4]

We can say with certainty that consultants were required to make preliminary sacrifices before the mantic session, as at Delphi and elsewhere, although we have little information about this. Iamblichos mentions preliminary sacrifices, and the narrator of Apuleius' "Cupid and Psyche" tells us that the king, Psyche's father, made sacrifices and prayers to Apollo when he asked him to grant Psyche marriage and a husband (R61).[5]

Obviously the Hellenistic temple was designed to suit the mantic procedure at Didyma after 334 (and it was surely true of the earlier temples too that they were designed for the rites of their times). Hence scholars, especially Haussoullier and Günther, have attempted to deduce the procedure from the temple structure. Probably early in the morning on a consultation day the clients who were going to attend the day's session gathered in the pronaos (*dôdekastylos*) before the great portal of the east chamber that opened out upon it one and a half meters above its floor. The envoys of foreign states and other foreigners were probably accompanied by prytanes or other representatives of the Milesian state. In Günther's view no consultant ever went beyond the pronaos. There the prophet received the consultants' questions in written form and then, accompanied by the *hypochrêstês* and other ministers, went down one of the vaulted corridors that led from the pronaos to the adyton; there the prophet presented the questions one after another to the promantis, who sat beside the sacred spring (see Map 3). Then, as Günther sees it, the prophet mounted the steps that ascended from the adyton to the east chamber. The three doors on the west side of the chamber were opened,

4. Iambl. *Myst.* 3.11; see Porph. *Epist. ad Aneb.* 14.

5. Iambl. *loc. cit.*; Apul. *Met.* 4.33 (R61): et tanto numine precibus et victimis ingratae virgini petit nuptias et maritum, "and from so mighty a divine power with prayers and sacrifices he asked marriage and a husband for the unfavored maid." In an inscribed poem concerned with Apollo as oracular god hecatombs of oxen are mentioned (*DI* 217.1; see RB1), but the inscription is badly damaged. On Delphi see Amandry 1950: 86–114.

giving the consultants and their attendants a view of the upper back wall of the adyton. For them the sudden appearance of the prophet at the doors was like an epiphany from the depths behind him. The prophet crossed the chamber to the east portal where he could speak to the consultants below him. While he and his attendants walked from the sacred spring to the portal, the assembled consultants, according to Günther, sang hymns in Apollo's praise. Having reached the portal the prophet recited the god's responses to the questions asked. Then he and the consultants went to the chresmographion, where each inquirer received a written copy of the response to his question.[6]

Much earlier Haussoullier thought that the consultant, guided by one of the god's ministers—*hypochrêstês, grammateus,* or *neôkoros*—went down one of the dark vaulted passages to the open chamber at the end of it, three steps above the floor of the adyton, whence he could look across the adyton to the naiskos and Kanachos Apollo, thirty meters distant. He saw the prophet and attendants, who had descended from the east chamber, cross the adyton to the sacred spring. At a signal from the prophet to the consultant's guide at the threshold of the end chamber, the consultant asked his question, addressing it directly to the god loudly enough for the prophetess to hear him. She gave the god's answer, which either the consultant could hear or the prophet brought to him. Then the consultant and the prophet went to the chresmographion, where the god's message was put in writing.[7]

It is reasonable to suppose that the consultants went down the vaulted passage to the end chamber that overlooked the adyton. Otherwise no consultant and no worshiper—nobody but the god's consecrated servitors—would ever see the Kanachos Apollo standing just inside the door of the naiskos, and the image must have been meant

6. See Günther 1971: 119–123, who thinks that the chresmographion was in the prophet's house. For the hymns see *DI* 217.6–9 (RB1), a late inscription (near 300 A.D.); they were sung *ὅταν μέλλῃ φάτιν ἄξων [ἀμφαίνειν? ἀδ]ύτων,* "when the axle [mantic seat] is about to reveal a response from adyta" (but the meaning is uncertain; see *Comment* on RB1). It seems to me likely that the god's own choir (*hymnôdoi*; see p. 62 note 31) sang on these occasions; the consultants, especially those from abroad, would be wholly unprepared to sing Didymaean hymns. The visible words of the inscription show only *ὕμνον ἐμοῖς μελπεῖν παρὰ σηκοῖς,* "to sing a hymn beside my sacred shrines [*or* temples?]." Some men call themselves hymnodes for life, *DI* 50.2A.67–68.

7. Haussoullier 1920; see Fontenrose 1933a: 192–195. In Mayer's reconstruction of procedure (1933: 1653) the consultant crossed the threshold of the open chamber and mounted the steps to the east chamber, where he put his question and awaited the response. He would then have to descend the steps and go back through a vaulted corridor to the pronaos.

for worshipers to see. Even if only the prophet, prophetess, and their attendants could set foot on the adyton floor, the passages thereto were not adyta, sacred ground, but merely *hosia,* accessible to the properly purified. It may be that as the consultant(s) went down one passage, the north for example, the prophet and attendants went down the other, the south passage.[8]

Iamblichos describes the prophetess's preparation for the mantic session:

> Καὶ μὴν ἥ γε ἐν Βραγχίδαις γυνὴ χρησμῳδὸς εἴτε ῥάβδον ἔχουσα τὴν πρώτως ὑπὸ θεοῦ τινος παραδοθεῖσαν πληροῦται τῆς θείας αὐγῆς εἴτε ἐπὶ ἄξονος καθημένη προλέγει τὸ μέλλον εἴτε τοὺς πόδας ἢ κράσπεδόν τι τέγγουσα τῷ ὕδατι ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀτμιζομένη δέχεται τὸν θεόν, ἐξ ἁπάντων τούτων ἐπιτηδεία παρασκευαζομένη πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ ὑπολαμβάνει.
>
> Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν θυσιῶν πλῆθος καὶ ὁ θεσμὸς τῆς ὅλης ἁγιστείας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα δρᾶται πρὸ τῆς χρησμῳδίας θεοπρεπῶς, τά τε λοῦτρα τὴς προφήτιδος καὶ ἡ τριῶν ὅλων ἡμερῶν ἀσιτία καὶ ἡ ἐν ἀδύτοις αὐτῆς διατριβὴ καὶ ἐχομένης ἤδη τῷ φωτὶ καὶ τερπομένης ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ πάντα παράκλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ ὥστε παραγενέσθαι καὶ παρουσίαν ἔξωθεν ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἐπίπνοιάν τε θαυμασίαν οἵαν πρὶν καὶ εἰς τὸν συνήθη τόπον ἀφικέσθαι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς ἀναφερομένῳ ἕτερόν τινα πρεσβύτερον χωριστὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου θεὸν ἀποφαίνει, τὸν αἴτιον καὶ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῆς πηγῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς μαντικῆς ὅλης.
>
> [*Myst.* 3.11]

The woman oracle-speaker at Branchidai, whether she is filled with the divine light while holding a wand first conveyed to her by some god, or foretells the future while sitting on an axle, or receives the god by wetting her feet or a hem in the water or by inhaling vapor from the water, makes herself ready in all these ways [*or* in any of these ways] for the reception and partakes of him from without.

The number of sacrifices and the law of the whole consecration and all the other things done reverently before the oracle-singing—the prophetess's baths and her fast of three whole days and her stay in adyta already near to the light and delighting in it for much time—have a clear meaning: for all these practices show a summoning of the god to be present and his wondrous presence even before she reaches the custom-

8. An adyton was a sacred room or enclosure that only consecrated persons usually could enter, but not always forbidden to others: properly purified and sanctified laity could be admitted on special occasions, as apparently to the adyton of Apollo's temple at Delphi; see Plut. *Mor.* 438b; Fontenrose 1978: 225–228; Delcourt 1955: 41. On restriction of the Didymaean adyton to temple personnel see Günther 1971: 42–43. On admission of worshipers to the adyton on festive occasions see Hahland 1964: 228–229.

> ary place; and in the very spirit that rises from the spring they reveal another god separate from the place, the author of the place and of the spring itself and of the whole mantic art.

The final sentence looks Neoplatonic, but the account of the mantic preliminaries is probably sound, although Iamblichos' repeated *eite* (whether) raises some difficulties of interpretation. Does he express uncertainty about the promantis's means of receiving inspiration or about which operation was effective in her receiving it, or does he mean that she held a wand one time, sat on an axle another time, wet her feet or skirt or inhaled vapor still another time? His words could also mean that to be filled with the divine light she held the wand, to foretell the future sat on an axle, and to receive the god wet her feet or skirt or inhaled vapor; but the three finite verbs, I believe, are meant to be variations on the same theme, how the promantis received inspiration. All three or four acts were done at each mantic session and also were not properly preliminaries of a session, but acts of the session itself: then she held a wand as she sat on a seat called axle and dipped her feet and hem in the sacred spring. But what is meant by *atmizomenê* (literally "being steamed" or "vaporized") from the water? It seems unlikely that spring water was heated for her to inhale the vapor. It was perhaps an imaginary vapor of divine power that she breathed in.[9]

The real preliminaries are listed in the second paragraph quoted. The promantis bathed, no doubt in water from the sacred spring; she fasted three days and spent some time secluded in the adyton, perhaps for the three-day period of her fast. That is about all we know of the preparations. She almost certainly did not chew bay leaves (nor did the Pythia at Delphi); only Lucian (*Bis accusatus* 1, ascribing the speech to Zeus), speaking humorously, describes Apollo hurrying from Delphi to other Oracles and back to Delphi again, "in short, wherever the promantis, . . . having chewed the bay . . . bids him be present" (see p. 55). It is hard to tell where bay-chewing was done, if anywhere.[10]

The axle (*axôn*) upon which the promantis sat is the Didymaean

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9. The participle with essentially the same preceding phrase is also found in Iamblichos' introductory quotation from Porphyry, who speaks of the methods used by prophets at several Oracles: there are those who drink water, e.g., the priest of the Klarian god at Kolophon; those who sit in caves (*stomia*), e.g., the prophetess at Delphi; *οἱ δ' ἐξ ὑδάτων ἀτμιζόμενοι καθάπερ αἱ ἐν Βραγχίδαις προφήτιδες*, "and those who inhale vapor from waters like the prophetesses at Branchidai."

10. See Fontenrose 1978: 224–225. In Iambl. *Myst.* 3.11 it is difficult to say whether the phrase *ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ* should be taken with *ἡ . . . διατριβὴ* (her stay for a considerable time in

counterpart of the tripod at Delphi, but what kind of seat it was is not explained. It surely does not mean a bowl-shaped seat placed on a tripod such as the Pythia sat on at Delphi. Probably no tripods were used in the Didymaean mantic procedure: a very late inscription in elegiac verse, perhaps composed in the fourth century A.D., commemorating a Rhodian dedication to Apollo Didymeus, ends with the couplet:

> *οὕνεκεν εἰρομένοισιν ἀεὶ νημερτέας ὀμφὰς*
> *θέσπισεν ἀψευστῶν πολλάκις ἐκ τριπόδων.*
>
> [*DI* 83]
>
> . . . because to our questions he has spoken ever truthful oracles often from unerring tripods.

As Günther says, the allusion to tripods is metaphorical: the tripod is a mantic symbol that reflects the fame of the Delphic tripod. Likewise Himerios (also fourth century A.D.) makes a no doubt metaphorical allusion to tripods at Didyma, and Lucian's Zeus indiscriminately has promantises shaking tripods as well as chewing bay at all Oracles. Again, in Constantine's version of R33 the Christians are accused of rendering false the oracles of the tripods; as already noticed, this version is unreliable, and in any case the promantis means that the Christians are corrupting Oracles in general: she does not refer specifically to Didyma or to Delphi.[11]

Clearly the water of the sacred spring had an important function in the mantic session, as in the operations of all other Hellenic Oracles. Porphyry, as quoted by Iamblichos (see note 9), distinguishes the ways in which water was employed at Didyma and at Klaros, and does not mention its use at Delphi. But the Pythia probably drank the water of the spring Kassotis: the Delphians told Pausanias that its waters, flowing underground into the adyton, gave the Pythia mantic powers. In preparation she had bathed in the waters of the spring Kastalia, and had probably drunk from them too. We have noticed that the Didymaean promantis bathed in preparation for the mantic session, probably in water drawn from the sacred spring. In the session, or at the beginning of it, she dipped her feet and skirt hem in the sacred spring, according to Iamblichos; and she inhaled vapor from

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the adyton) or with *τερπομένης* (feeling delight for a long time). It is likely that her sojourn in the adyton would not be longer than her period of fast. Perhaps the prophetess was lodged in the naiskos for her three-day period.

11. Him. *Or.* 60(11).3; Lucian *Bis acc.* 1; Constantine *ap.* Ps. Eus. *Vit. Const.* 2.50. See Günther 1971: 120.

the spring water, according to Porphyry and Iamblichos, and apparently drank it too, as at Klaros and Delphi. For the Greeks, and apparently for all ancient peoples, water arising out of the earth in springs had numinous chthonian powers, so that drinking water from a sacred spring would infuse one with mantic and magical powers. Hence sometimes bowls of holy water were consulted in the manner of crystal balls; or stones, oils, or other substances would be thrown into bowls of water and the resulting appearances interpreted; or as at the Oracle of Demeter in Patrai, a mirror was lowered just enough to graze the waters of the sacred spring and then was raised and looked into—a stage of transition from bowl of water to crystal ball. But there is no evidence that the Didymaean spring water was ever used as a divinatory device.[12]

No doubt the promantis's course of preparation induced in her a feeling of being divinely inspired; she would be conscious of her role as Apollo's mouthpiece and would feel a rapturous emotion, even ecstasy. But there is no sound evidence—any more than there is for the Pythia—that her ecstasy or rapture reached the stage of frenzy, so that she broke into wild unintelligible speech that had to be interpreted by the prophet and his attendants. And certainly she did not enter into a state of possession. Frenzy, babbling, and possession of Apollo's priestesses are no more than fantasies arising from misunderstanding and credulity. Iamblichos speaks of no more than inspiration of the Didymaean promantis. Only Constantine, perhaps subject to late misapprehensions of the Pythia's activity, says that when R33 was spoken, the priestess, her hair flowing, ran about madly bewailing the evil (Christianity) among men.[13]

On the promantis's delivery of responses we have no information at all. The sources quote questions and direct answers to them, but almost always say that the god responded. In many Delphic documents we are told that the Pythia spoke; but aside from Constantine on R33 and Demon on the spurious R40 no source ever tells us that the promantis spoke. It seems unlikely that she spontaneously composed the Historical verse compositions that have survived. It may be that the prophet or scribes or somebody else composed the verses before the consultation, but the poet would have to know the consul-

12. Paus. 7.21.12 (spring at Patrai), 10.24.7 (Kassotis); the Pythia bathed in Kastalia's water: Schol. vet. on Eur. *Phoin.* 224; she drank it: Oinomaos *ap.* Eus. *PE* 5.28, 224a; Greg. Naz. *Or.* 39.5, 340 Migne. On the mantic powers of water see Halliday 1913: 116–162; Ninck 1921: 47–99 (84–89 on water at Delphi, Klaros, Didyma); Fontenrose 1959: 545–549, 1978: 224.

13. On the Pythia's actual state during a mantic session and her delivery of responses see Fontenrose 1978: 204–224.

tant's question. Moreover this practice would be hard to reconcile with the belief that the promantis spoke under Apollo's inspiration, and the whole procedure would look very much like conscious fraud. Or it may be that the promantis spoke an answer in prose, which was then put into verse without changing the meaning and delivered in writing to the consultant. This supposition also raises difficulties. Some time would have to pass between the promantis's oral response and delivery of the verse oracle to the consultant. Such a response as R6, which puts the usual prose sanction as closely as possible into verse, could be quickly composed; but the composition of elaborate poetic responses like R22 and R25 would require considerable time. Lacking any evidence on how Didymaean responses were spoken or composed, we cannot know what procedure was followed; but that the promantis spontaneously composed several lines of competent dactylic hexameter for each of several consultants in one session seems to be out of the question.

The plan of Apollo's temple at Didyma was different from that of his Delphic temple, and there were some obvious differences of mantic procedure. But the promantis's preparation, her conduct at a mantic session, and her delivery of oracles in spoken words, as well as the very institution of promantis, a woman as speaker of oracles, are very similar to Delphic practices; and so we may suppose that the Milesians who reestablished the Didymaean Oracle after 334 B.C. had the Delphic example before them. Since the Branchidai who had controlled and operated the archaic Oracle had disappeared, the Milesians decided to reinstitute the Oracle on different lines.

No information is available on how often the Didymaean Oracle was open for business or on what days it could or could not be consulted. One would surmise that it was active no more than once in seven days or more, since the prophetess had to fast for three days in preparation for a session, unless one supposes that a single three-day fast preceded several consecutive days of mantic sessions. There were undoubtedly *hêmerai apophrades,* as at Delphi, days on which the Oracle was closed. Menandros Rhetor mentions *apodêmiai* (absences) of Apollo from Miletos and Delos, probably for the winter months as at Delphi; but it is doubtful whether an *apodêmia* meant no oracular activity during the winter months at either Didyma or Delphi.[14]

14. Men. Ret. *Enk.* 4, 336 Sp. (see p. 76 note 23); Günther 1971: 123. On Delphi see Amandry 1950: 81–85; Fontenrose 1959: 379–381. R1 may attest night sessions for the archaic period as later at Klaros, but too much text is lost to allow certainty.

THE RESPONSES SPOKEN AT DIDYMA

Analysis of Didymaean Responses

There survive records of sixty-one oracular responses that were (or probably were) attributed to Apollo Didymeus, both authentic and unauthentic; these are listed in the Catalogue (pp. 177–244) with texts and translations. Ten others were recorded in inscriptions now too much damaged to be comprehensible or restorable, or the text is lost; these are listed in Supplement A to the Catalogue and are referred to in the following pages as RA1–10. Supplement B lists eight other documents that may record or refer to Didymaean responses, if their contents quote or notice responses at all; these are referred to as RB1–8.

These sixty-one responses I have classified as I classified Delphic responses, into Historical, Quasi-Historical, Legendary, and Fictional, defined as in the Introduction to *The Delphic Oracle* (1978). Those that have contemporary attestation are Historical; there are thirty-three of these, R1–33. Those allegedly spoken in historical times (after 800 B.C.), but in extant records first attested by persons not yet born at the time indicated, are Quasi-Historical; among these I include several quoted by Porphyry, Lactantius, and Julian, which are undatable (R45–53); there are twenty-three responses in this class, R34–56. There are only four Legendary responses (R57–60), those spoken in tales that refer to prehistoric times or in timeless folktales, and just one Fictional response (R61), composed by Apuleius for the tale of Cupid and Psyche in his *Metamorphoses*.[15]

Sixty-one responses are not many in comparison with the 535 recorded Delphic responses included in my Catalogue of Delphic responses, but they have great significance for the study of Greek oracular responses. Of the sixty-one responses over half (thirty-three) are Historical, and thirty of these, nearly one-half of the total, are recorded in inscriptions presumably made soon after delivery, twenty-seven being inscriptions of Didyma and Miletos. Of the 535 re-

15. See Fontenrose 1978: 7–9. The reader must bear in mind that "Historical" with initial capital letter is nothing more than a label for contemporaneously attested responses and must not be confused with "historical" in the sense of actually having been spoken at Didyma in historical times. An Historical response may not be authentic, as, e.g., Delphic H55 and H70. All Didymaean H are authentic, I believe, with the exception of part of H4 as we have it. The label "Quasi-Historical" should not be understood to mean that the authenticity of responses so classified is questionable; some are certainly or probably genuine.

sponses in the Delphic Catalogue only seventy-five can be classed as Historical, fourteen per cent of the total; of these, forty-eight are recorded in inscriptions, and only fifteen are found in Delphic inscriptions. No Delphic inscription quotes an Historical response in direct verse or prose. Only three inscriptions found elsewhere record direct Delphic Historical responses in verse. Nearly half of all Delphic inscriptions that record Delphic Oracles offer only testimonies, merely indicating the purport of the response. In contrast nineteen of the twenty-seven Didymaean/Milesian inscriptional records of responses are in direct quotation, sixteen in verse; some of the other eight inscriptions, incomplete in their present state, are likely to have quoted the responses directly.[16]

The Didymaean records adequately confirm the conclusions that I reached in my study of Delphic responses. The Historical responses, as the Catalogue and the following analysis show, are mostly simple commands or sanctions on religious topics. Some of the Quasi-Historical oracles show characteristics of Legendary responses; but for Didyma those that survive are mostly statements on past, present, and future, owing to the inclusion of the nine responses R45–53, mentioned above, quoted by Porphyry, Lactantius, and Julian. The Legendary and Fictional, five altogether, are very few in comparison with "Delphic" responses (176L + 16F = 192). This difference, of course, is due to the great prestige of the Delphic Oracle on the Greek peninsula and in Italy and Sicily, where Didyma was little known, and also to the predilection of narrators of legends and stories to refer narrative prophecies and oracular statements to the Delphic Oracle. In analyzing the modes, topics, question formulae, and occasions of Didymaean responses I employ the terms of my analysis of Delphic responses.[17]

Modes. A1, clear commands and instructions: twenty H (one other in RA10), six Q, one L, one F. The Didymaean responses are

16. For Delphic responses see PW and Fontenrose 1978: 244–416 (Catalogue: H responses on 244–267). Also in verse are Didymaean RA1, 3–6, 8, and perhaps RA2. Robinson (1981: 57 note 1) asserts that I count every response assigned to Didyma in literary sources as not genuine. But notice R4, 16, 33 (Kallisthenes *ap.* Strab., pseudo-Skymnos, Lactantius), which I consider authentic (or partly so for R4); notice also R34, 35, 38, 56 (Q).

17. For definitions see Fontenrose 1978: 13–20 (modes), 25–26 (topics), 36–38 (question formulae), 40 (occasions). The analysis in the text considers only the mode and topic of the central message, the answer to the question asked. Some responses are complex and have subordinate modes and topics; these are mentioned in the notes and indicated in the Catalogue. If the central message might be classified otherwise, I enter the alternative as a subordinate mode or topic.

too few in each category for percentages to be significant; but the reader should notice that Didymaean A1 amounts to twenty occurrences in thirty-three Historical responses, five-eighths; in the Delphic corpus twenty of seventy-two H responses have mode A1.

A2, sanctions: eight H (one other in RA8), no others. In the Delphic corpus most sanctions are H.

Hence A, simple commands, comprising clear commands and sanctions (which cannot always be distinguished clearly in surviving records), amount to twenty-eight of thirty-three Didymaean H, a little more, proportionately, than the fifty-seven of seventy-two Delphic H responses. They are the great majority of all Didymaean and Delphic H responses.[18]

B, conditioned command, appears only in R59, version 2 (L). Here the command "Take that land" is conditioned by the conditional relative clause "wherever (= if anywhere) someone offers you a clod of earth." In Tzetzes' indirect form, the optative mood indicates the subjunctive of a vivid future condition in the direct form.

C1, clear prohibitions and warnings: one H, one Q.

C2, ambiguous and obscure prohibitions and warnings: one Q; subordinate mode in R61 (F).

D1, statements of past or present fact: four H (perhaps another in RA6), twelve Q. Such statements amount to one-half of Didymaean Q for the reason mentioned above.[19]

D2, extraordinary statements of past or present fact: one Q, one L. The Q response R45 may be classified D1 on the ground that the answer could be given without fear of challenge or disproof, not requiring occult knowledge. So we would say if we could consider this response authentic, but we cannot. The supposed speaker professes knowledge of divine matters. He has intimate knowledge of what the gods have done: from the narrative point of view the speaker really has this knowledge. The reader should observe that according to the story of R45 the surviving woodcutters saw Pan as he roved about causing terror; but they asked Apollo what was the cause of the nine deaths. One wonders why they asked the question, when they had seen Pan at work. Such inconsistency is not found in authentic records. R45 is quite like R58, apparently Legendary.

E1, non-predictive future statements: one Q.

18. A3, ambiguous and obscure commands and instructions, are not found among extant Didymaean responses. Since I count R39A and R39B separately, twenty-four Q responses enter into the analysis. A1 is subordinate in R19 (H), R43, 45 (Q); A2 is subordinate in R8, 10 (H). A1 or A2 is probably the mode of RA7, 8.

19. D1 is a subordinate mode in three H responses (R1, 25, 33) and one Q response (R48).

E2, clear predictions: one Q, one L, one F; a subordinate mode in R4 (H) and precisely the dubious part of that response as reported. According to Kallisthenes, a contemporary, as Strabo reports him, Apollo predicted Alexander's victory at Arbela and the death of Darius—which occurred in the next year—and revolution (*neôterismoi*) in Lakedaimon. It is very likely that Didyma predicted a victory over the Persians, a fairly safe and also politic prediction to venture, but the promantis and attendant ministers surely did not possess occult powers that could enable them to be specific about the place and result. As for revolution in Lakedaimon, news of Sparta's revolt against Macedonia may already have reached Didyma and could be mentioned in the laudatory response as a way of informing Alexander of the event.[20]

F, conditioned prediction: one L.

Topics. In answer to consultants' questions the god (or rather his representative) prescribed or prohibited certain acts, or spoke on past, present, or future events of various kinds; these were the principal contents of responses, which fall into three general classes: (1) *res divinae,* (2) *res publicae,* (3) *res domesticae et profanae.*

1a, cult foundations, including foundations of festivals and temples: seven H, one Q.

1b, sacrifices and offerings: ten H (perhaps two others in Supplement A), one Q, one L. It is sometimes difficult to decide whether a topic is 1a or 1b.[21]

1d, religious laws, customs, doctrines, etc.: seven H (perhaps two others in Supplement A), seven Q.

2a, rulership: one Q.

2b, legislation, civic welfare: one H.

2c, city and colony foundations: one Q.

2d, interstate relations: four H, two Q.

2e, war: two Q.[22]

3a, birth and origin: one H, one L.

3b, marriage: one F.

3c, death: two Q.

3e, actions and events: one H, two Q.[23]

3g, persons, agents: four Q, two L.

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20. E2 is a subordinate mode in R34 and R56 (Q). On R4 see Fontenrose 1978: 420. E3, ambiguous and obscure predictions, does not appear among surviving Didymaean responses. For analysis of the modes of Delphic oracles see Fontenrose 1978: 13–24 (H, L), 44–47 (Q).

21. Topic 1a is subordinate in R43 (Q), 1b in R45.

22. Topic 2e is subordinate in R4 (H).

23. Topic 3e is subordinate in R45 (Q).

3h, means and signs: one L.

3i, places and lands, is subordinate topic in R41 and R42 (Q).

3j, gnomic utterances: two H, one Q.[24]

As among Delphic H responses topics 1c, 3b, 3h, and 3i (see note 24) do not appear among Didymaean H responses; but 3e, absent from Delphic H, is found once in Didymaean H.

Of the thirty-three H responses, twenty are expressed in modes A1 and A2, topics 1a, 1b, and 1d, as religious instructions or sanctions (another has C1, 1a). This amounts to almost five-eighths of the group, very close to the proportions of Delphic H responses of the same kind. On the other hand only two of twenty-three Q responses have mode A1 with religious content; if to these we add R43, which shows A1, 1a, as a minor mode and topic, then just three Didymaean Q responses have the character of most Didymaean H. Hence, though the numbers are much fewer, the trend of the evidence moves in the same direction: most authentic ancient oracles were directions on religious matters.[25]

Question Formulae. In *The Delphic Oracle* I distinguished sixteen formulae of consultants' questions (and "no question asked" makes seventeen). Not all of these appear among questions asked in extant Didymaean records of consultations. We know or can infer the questions for thirty-six responses: twenty-one H, twelve Q, two L, one F. The following formulae appear among them:

1, Shall I do X?: three H (perhaps another in RA4), four Q.

2, How shall I do X?: two H (another in RA7).

4, What shall I do?: one Q.

5, What can I do or say to please the gods?: one Q.

6, Who or what caused X?: two Q, one L.

8, Whom shall we choose?: one H.

9, Where shall I go or find or settle?: one L.

10, Shall I succeed?: one H.

11, What is the truth about X?: one H (another in RA6), five Q.

12, requests: one H, one F.

14, Is it better for me to do X?: twelve H.

17, no question asked: one Q.[26]

24. Topic 3j is subordinate in R21 (H). Topics 1c, human sacrifice, 3d, careers and professions, and 3f, rewards and punishments, do not appear among extant Didymaean responses. For R1 (H) the topic is likely to have been 1a or 1b, but the portion now visible allows only classification as 3j. For analysis of Delphic topics see Fontenrose 1978: 24–31 (H, L), 47–49 (Q).

25. See Fontenrose 1978: 30–32 (H, L), 49–51 (Q).

26. See Fontenrose 1978: 36–38 for the list of Delphic question formulae; for analysis see 35–39 (R, L), 52–53 (Q). The three parts ABC of R39 (Q) have different question formulae;

Like those of Delphi, Didymaean H questions most often show formula 14, generally expressed in the form Λῷον καὶ ἄμεινόν ἐστι/ἔσται ἐμοὶ/ἡμῖν ποιεῖν/ποιοῦντι/ποιοῦσιν κτλ., "Is it better and preferable [another word meaning 'better'] to do [etc.]?" In some Didymaean inscriptions the words καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα χρόνον, "both now and for the future," are inserted after ἐστι/ἔσται (R5, 6, 8). More than one-half of extant Didymaean H questions are so phrased (or similarly). No Didymaean Q or L questions have this formula, and it is rare among Delphic Q and L.

In eleven inscribed response records the question is quoted, presumably as the consultant asked it (R5–8, 20–22, 27, 28, 30, 31; in several inscriptions the question is lost). In each instance the question follows upon [Ὄνομα] ἐρωτᾷ," "X asks." But the question is always asked in the third person and introduced (except in R31) by *ei* (whether) or *poteron . . . ê* (whether . . . or). In five records the question is introduced by a clause beginning with *epei* (since, whereas), followed in two (R22, 27) by the question with introductory adverb. In two others (R20, 30) the *epei* clause is immediately followed by a main clause consisting of δεῖται σου δέσποτα, "he asks you, Lord," which in R30 is followed by an infinitive: "he asks you, Lord Didymeus Helios Apollo, to tell him whether [etc.]." There the infinitive introduces the question; but in R31 the infinitive after "he asks you" does not; it is with its direct object the question (formula 12): the god is asked to ordain the goddess Soteira Kore's epithet. Apparently the inscriptional record of a consultation expresses the question, probably spoken orally by the consultant in the first person, as it appeared in the written form composed at the chresmographion. Or it may be the way in which the prophet repeated the inquirer's question to the promantis. No surviving inscription of a Delphic response inscribed at Delphi records a consultant's question except the fragmentary H61, which shows only "Is it better to [etc.]."

Occasions. In *The Delphic Oracle* I distinguished twenty-four occasions of consultation. Not all of these are found among the records of Didymaean responses. The occasions are known or inferred for forty-two Didymaean oracles: twenty-three H, fourteen Q, four L, one F.

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hence there are 14 formulae listed here for 12 responses (if we count question formula 17 as a formula). An Historical example of question formula 17 may appear in RA1. Formulae 3 (How may I become a parent?), 7 (Who were the parents?), 13 (statements), 15 (What is better to do?), and 16 (To what god shall I make sacrifice?) do not appear in the surviving records of Didymaean responses.

i, natural disaster: one H, one L.
iii, exile, etc.: one Q.
vi, war and *casus belli:* three Q, one L.
vii, portents: two H (perhaps 2 others in Supplement A), one Q.
ix, civic welfare: four H.
x, desire or plan to found a city: one Q, one L.
xi, lack of children: one L.
xii, prospective marriage: one F.
xv, death: two Q (one H in RA7).
xvii, contemplated enterprise: two H.
xix, test of Oracle: one Q.
xx, worship of the gods: ten H.
xxi, religious questions: three H (perhaps 2 others in Supplement A), four Q.
xxii, interstate relations: one H, one Q.[27]

The religious occasions are predominant among the H responses of both Didyma (over one-half) and Delphi (nearly one-half). Approximately one-fifth of Didymaean Q occasions fall into these categories.

The Character of Didymaean Responses

The analysis of extant Didymaean responses (or attributed to Didyma) reveals that the Historical responses on record, those most likely to be authentic (most of them unquestionably so), are mostly directions and sanctions with a residue of prohibitions and commonplace statements. There are no predictions except a subordinate and questionable section of R4. The majority have religious content; of the remainder most are concerned with public affairs; *res domesticae et profanae* rarely appear. The Historical responses of Delphi are much the same; there too predictions are rare and questionable, as far as we can tell from our sample. Hence the Didymaean sample, although much smaller, points in the same direction. The mere fact that twenty-seven are recorded in inscriptions of Didyma and Miletos, all having the character indicated, is decisive: this was the kind of response spoken there.

27. For the list of Delphic occasions see Fontenrose 1978: 40; for analysis see 39–41 (H, L), 53–54 (Q). The following occasions, present among Delphic records, do not appear among surviving Didymaean records: ii (sickness of an individual), iv (crimes of others), v (crimes of self), viii (problems of rulership), xiii (wife's or other woman's pregnancy), xiv (wish to know origin), xvi (disappearance or loss), xviii (desire for reward), xxiii (desire for information), xxiv (family welfare).

Furthermore Didyma offers evidence of a sort that we do not find for Delphi. No Delphic Historical response can be dated earlier than 440 B.C.; there is none for the archaic period, and so it can be (and is) argued that the Pythia may have spoken a different kind of response in those days, the sort of extraordinary response that we find, e.g., in the pages of Herodotos. We have, however, three Didymaean responses dated in the sixth century, recorded in archaic inscriptions of Didyma and Miletos (R1–3). They are a direction (A1), a sanction (A2), and a prohibition (C1). The content of R3 is concerned with worship, that of R1 may have been (we have only the concluding lines), and that of R2 simply sanctions the consultant's continuance of his fathers' occupation or course of action (or the consultants' of theirs). They have exactly the same character as have later Historical responses down to the fourth century A.D. These three responses, we must believe, were spoken by the Branchidai.[28]

Three of the twenty-three Quasi-Historical responses can be considered genuine (R34, 35, 56), and another is possibly genuine (R38). All are directions (A1), one on a cult foundation (R35, topic 1a), one on interstate relations (R38, 2d), one on war (R56, 2e). R34, as far as can be inferred, directs the founding of a colony (2c, Kyzikos), and R35 is also concerned with the early days of the Milesian colony of Kyzikos (see also *Milet* 1.3.155.15–17, on the Milesian foundation of Apollonia-on-Ryndakos). No doubt Didyma ordered or sanctioned the foundations of all Milesian colonies and really had the colony-directing function that has been erroneously attributed to Delphi in ancient and modern times. Two of these responses have predictions as minor constituents: in R34 a prediction of prosperity for Kyzikos may be inferred; in R56 the god predicts a victory for Julian over the Persians. These prophecies amount to no more than wishing the consultants well in their enterprises.[29]

Of the remaining nineteen Quasi-Historical responses sixteen are acceptable as far as mode and topic are concerned, but must be declared unauthentic on other grounds, which are discussed in the Catalogue. Hence only three Didymaean Quasi-Historical responses show any of the modes (A3, B, C2, D2, E3, F) which are never found among the Historical responses of Delphi and Didyma, or E2, which is rare and dubious among them. I have already discussed R45, which has mode D2 as I understand it. R42 has mode C2, an ambigu-

28. See Fontenrose 1978: 233–234, 239.

29. On Delphi's role in colony foundations see Fontenrose 1978: 137–144.

ous warning: Seleukos should avoid Argos, which he took to be the city; but in the response Argos meant Europe or European Hellas. R43, which was also allegedly spoken to Seleukos, predicts his kingship. An Oracle might venture such a prediction, but if R43 is authentic it would have to have been spoken in 334 B.C., twenty-two years before Seleukos became king, at a time before he had gained power and influence in Macedonian affairs. In Libanios' version he is even told that his kingdom will be Syria. R41 is obviously a variant of R42, although it is a clear prohibition (C1), "Don't go back to Europe," with an added reason, "Asia is better for you." It is also improbable that any responses were spoken at Didyma in 334: the Oracle had not yet been renewed. R4, spoken in 331, is probably the first response spoken at Didyma after renewal.

We have already noticed R39, in which a voice from the adyton reached Aristodikos as he removed birds' nests from the temple walls, and conveyed to him a moral message, not even to consult an Oracle about surrendering suppliants. In the story it was Apollo himself who spoke, and we should accept this as a narrative event, part of the story. It is idle to rationalize the episode and say that the prophet or some Branchid shouted from the adyton, pretending to be the god. R37, Croesus' test of the Oracle, belongs to Delphic legend; if this tale had been told in Miletos, Didyma would have had the right answer to Croesus' question. R55 is a Christian invention meant to disparage Constantine's opponents. On R45–53 see *Comment* on R48–52.

The four Legendary responses (R57–60, of which R59 has two versions) and the single Fictional response (R61), though few in number, have the characteristics of the narrative responses attributed to Delphi. R59, version 2, has the sole example of a conditioned command (B) in a response attributed to Didyma. R58 has a statement of occult knowledge (D2), and R61, though a clear command (A1) in the central message, has a subordinate obscure prohibition (C2).

Seven Quasi-Historical responses (R34–40) are attributed to the archaic period. Two of these (R34, 35) are probably authentic, and another (R38) may be. All these are directions, simply stated (as far as we can tell from the sources), on religious and public topics and differ in no respect from R1–3.

It has already been made clear that there was nothing remarkable about any authentic oracles of Didyma: there were no predictions in clear or ambiguous language, no ambiguous or conditioned commands, prohibitions, or predictions. The responses, as at Delphi,

were commonplace, almost entirely directions and sanctions, mainly on religious and public topics. Therefore there is no need to suppose any kind of fraud or self-delusion in the operation of the Oracle; there was simply no need of it. Nor is there any reason to suspect forgery of any Historical response, i.e., the composition of a Didymaean oracular response outside of the temenos with intent to deceive (narrative oracles are in no real sense forgeries). Fraudulent practice is wholly irrelevant to the kind of response actually spoken. Nor do we need any kind of "rational" explanation of remarkable predictions, if no such predictions were made, much less any supposition that the promantis had occult powers. We need not take seriously Eusebios' statement that a Milesian prophet, no doubt a prophet of Apollo Didymeus, a philosopher, confessed to fraud and deceit in oracular operations, one of several men who suffered torture in Roman courts (under either Christian or Licinius' domination) to get a confession of fraudulent practice. Evidence extracted under torture is not likely to be valid, and it may be that the prophet's account of actual operations could be taken as fraud by Christian judges, since he could point to no supernatural agency at work. No doubt Eusebios, as is evident from his remarks on the Oracles and his quotations from Porphyry and Oinomaos, along with many of his contemporaries, considered the traditional narrative and chresmological oracles to be actual pronouncements of Delphi and Didyma, not knowing what was really done there; hence he may have supposed them the products of fraudulent or demonic methods.[30]

In criticism of my analysis of Delphic responses Robinson (1981: 51–57) objects that I have not taken account of the manner in which the responses have been transmitted; I make no distinction between inscriptional and literary sources. The inscriptions record mostly responses spoken to city-states or other public bodies on religious and civic matters. Historical responses attested in literature, however, were more often spoken to individuals and were less often religious or civic in nature. There is merit in the argument, and it is true that inscriptional sources are more likely to be directions on religious top-

30. Eus. *PE* 4.2.10–11, 135b–136a; excerpts from Porphyry and Oinomaos in *PE* 5. On Licinius' punishment of prophets at Daphne for issuing oracles in support of Maximin see Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 9.11.6. Haussoullier (1902: xxx) appears to identify Eusebios' Milesian philosopher-prophet with Philidas Herakleon's son, Epicurean philosopher (*DI* 285); and Grégoire suggests that Eusebios refers to the prophet who officiated at Didyma when R33 was spoken to Diocletian's envoy (see *Comment* on R33); Eusebios refers to a contemporary. On the characteristics of Didymaean responses see Robert 1968: 576–599; Robinson 1981: 59–67.

ics addressed to cities and that the statistical analysis would look somewhat different if we had records of the thousands of responses addressed to individuals on personal problems in answer to the kinds of question that Plutarch mentions (*Mor.* 408c). But all we can rely on is what we have, responses attested by contemporaries, and most of these are inscriptional. Even so the Delphic Historical responses attested in inscriptions include nine (out of forty-five) spoken to individuals on matters of personal concern (H25, 32, 34, 36 [considered Didymaean by Robinson], 51, 54, 59, 68, 74), a not much lower proportion than the seven (out of twenty-nine) attested in literary sources (H3, 11, 12, 18, 62, 63, 69 [considered Didymaean by Robinson]). Some of these consultants, it is true, asked questions on religious matters in which they were interested, but others received instructions of religious content in response to questions on purely private matters (H11, 12, 34, 36, 63; cf. R22, 30). Xenophon, concerned with joining Cyrus' expedition into Asia, was told to make sacrifice to Zeus the King (H11). He had asked to what god he should make sacrifice to have success and safety in his enterprise; this was a standard form of question at Oracles, as is evident from the lead tablets found at Dodona (see Parke 1967a: 263 [1], 265 [8], 267–268 [12, 14, 15]). As far as we can know from surviving Delphic Historical responses, those made to individual consultants were modally and topically similar to those spoken to public consultants. This is what Plutarch tells us: to questions on personal problems Apollo gave short and simple answers. What is certain is that there is no reliable record of an extraordinary response to anyone, a true prediction whether clear or obscure or an ambiguous command or prohibition.

Of the thirty Didymaean Historical responses recorded in inscriptions fifteen were made to individuals or to presumably private groups (R2, 14, 15, 19–24, 26–31). Several of these were spoken to cult officials, prophets, or others (R22, 23, 27–31), but not the majority as Robinson asserts (1981: 59–62), and certainly not all those inscribed at Didyma for which the consultant is known: R15 and R24 were not and probably not R14. In inscriptions of Miletos and other cities that record Didymaean responses the range of individual recipients is wider. But we need to bear in mind that the mass of response recipients over the centuries could not afford to have their responses inscribed, even if they wanted to. It cost a good deal to consult an Oracle; few if any poor people went to Oracles. To analyze the Historical responses of Didyma we have to rely on what survives, and, as we have said, the Didymaean responses that survive are much the

same in modes and contents as those of Delphi. The main difference, as far as we can see, is that the Didymaean were more often expressed in verse.

The sources of authentic Delphic responses tell us little about the circumstances of individual consultations. For no other are we so well informed as about Xenophon's consultation (H11), concerning which Xenophon himself is the reporter. The inscriptional records tell us very little; the most informative seems to be H34 (*FD* 3.1.560, circa 360 B.C.), which records the response to a husband's inquiry about his wife's failure to bear a child (and it was the husband who had the record inscribed). From several Didymaean sources we learn more about the reasons for consultation. This difference between Delphic and Didymaean records is partly due to the accidents of preservation, but it is also due to the completeness of Didymaean records. When we have a complete inscriptional record we learn who was consultant, what question he asked, and what caused him to ask the question, besides the response itself.

Alexandra, priestess of Demeter Thesmophoros in the city, was disturbed because either she or others had seen manifestations of gods: there had been several, and she wanted to know whether these phenomena portended well (R22, 2d cent. A.D.). Only the first two verses of the response survive in a nearly complete text, in which Apollo appears to say that the gods meet with mortals on earth and tell men their will and the honors they should pay the gods. These beginning verses seem to indicate that he assures Alexandra that the manifestations are favorable. A related response (R23) on the same stone (*DI* 496), also apparently spoken to Alexandra, is also incomplete, but the first twelve verses are entirely or mostly visible. In these verses the gods call upon all mankind, and especially the Milesians, to worship Demeter, who changed the diet of mankind from raw meat to grain and other vegetable products. The message which begins in verse 11 is mostly missing, but starts with a reference to Alexandra's good services as priestess; on this account, we may reasonably conjecture, the god tells her that it is to her in her term as priestess that the gods have so manifested themselves (see *Comment* on R22–23).

Another response (R25, circa 200 A.D.) was spoken apparently to the Milesians, but it concerns Satorneila, priestess of Athena Polias, the most revered deity in the city of Miletos after Apollo Delphinios. The woman chosen priestess had always been a highborn virgin. But Satorneila, whom the authorities wanted to make priestess, had been married and become a mother. Hence the question was put to the

Oracle and received a fifteen-verse response, which has survived in its entirety. After the first two verses, which greet the citizens, the god (i.e., the composer of the verses) spends five verses (3–7) on Athena's birth from Zeus's head and on her character as war goddess, defender of cities, and artisan goddess. Then he states the requirement for the priestess of Athena Polias, the goddess who was self-appearing (*autophanês,* i.e., sprung from Zeus's head without a mother [8–9]; the goddess's virginity is implied). But Satorneila had enjoyed the gifts of Aphrodite (10). In three verses thereafter (11–13) Aphrodite, goddess of marriage, is contrasted with Athena, virgin goddess. Yet the divine decision is made in Satorneila's favor: she should be priestess, in obedience to the Moirai and to Pallas; that is, Athena herself wants Satorneila to serve her. Athena and Aphrodite are thus reconciled in Satorneila's service as priestess.

For three responses (R29–31, probably late third century A.D.; 30–31 are dated in the reign of Diocletian, 285–305) prophets were the consultants. That they put their trust in the Oracle may be truly taken as a guarantee of its honesty: the fact is that they knew what kind of answer they were going to get, and possibilities of fraud never entered their minds. Titus Flavius Ulpianus (R29) was concerned about the placing of an altar; he wanted to place it where the god would like to have it, and any answer would be proper. His first question is not reported, and the response praises him for his pious service and commends him for his concern about altars. Then he asked where he should place the holy table to honor the god properly; the answer is missing.

The prophet Damianos noticed that the altar circle (*peribômismos*) of Didyma lacked an altar of Soteira Kore, his ancestral goddess, and asked whether the god would allow him to place an altar dedicated to her beside her mother Demeter's altar in the circle. The response (R30) in verse approves his doing so. Then he asked the god to say what Kore's cult epithet should be, and the response was that it should be Soteira Meilichos (Gracious Savioress, R31).

Questions on portents and matters of cult which priests and priestesses asked at Didyma were asked by the governments of city-states at Delphi, as far as surviving records show. It was probably Athens that consulted Delphi about portents which occurred around the time of Philip's entry into the Fourth Sacred War (circa 340 B.C.), but we are informed only that the inquirers received *deina manteumata,* dire responses (H22). In 352/1 Athens was faced with the question of leasing lands in the Eleusinian *orgas* (the lands sacred to the

Eleusinian deities) to be cultivated. They put the question to the Delphic Oracle in an unusual manner, presenting two urns to the Pythia, one of which contained a question asking for an answer that approved the lease, the other a question asking for an answer that disapproved the lease (H21 = *IG* 2^2.204). The Pythia pointed to the urn that held the disapproving answer.

It was the city of Halieis that consulted Delphi about a snake which had been carried unnoticed from Epidauros to Halieis in the wagon which brought a sick man home from Asklepios' sanctuary. To the question whether the people of Halieis should send the snake back to Epidauros or let it stay in Halieis, where it had healed its ailing traveling companion, Delphi replied that the snake should stay in Halieis and a sanctuary of Asklepios should be instituted there (H23 = *IG* 4^2.122).

We observe, therefore, that in the Delphic records it is usually cities that consult the Oracle on such matters. But in H63 (Plut. *Mor.* 404a) a priest of Herakles Misogynos (Woman-Hater) in Phokis, who had violated a tabu of his priesthood by having sexual intercourse with a woman when he was drunk, asked whether his offense could be forgiven or absolved and was told in a single iambic trimeter that deity forgives all uncontrollable acts. This is comparable to R25, but we notice that in contrast to H63 and to the Delphic responses given to cities on cult questions the Didymaean responses on these matters are more personal and more explicative: the oracular decision is likely to be justified by a discourse on the nature and functions of the deities concerned.

The Didymaean Oracle, it appears, tended to uphold ancestral custom. We have noticed the early R2, which bids the consultants do as their fathers had done. In the late R28 the comptroller Hermias (again a cult official) asked whether it was pleasing to the god to perform some rite (text missing) as it had been done or in another way (as apparently had been proposed); he was told to perform it according to *patrikê gnômê,* the will or judgement of his ancestors.

Verse Responses

We have the texts in whole or in part of sixteen Historical responses of Didyma in verse, all in dactylic hexameter, approximately half the whole number of Historical responses preserved, whereas out of seventy-four Historical responses from Delphi there remain only eleven verse responses (three in iambic trimeter), of which three are spurious (H3, 17, 55; the first two are authentic in their prose

forms) and one is fragmentary (H56). There are fifteen Quasi-Historical responses of Didyma in verse (one in iambic trimeter); of 268 Delphic Quasi-Historical responses there are 111 in verse (three in iambic or lyric meters); excluded are pseudo-direct verse responses, i.e., manifestly compositions of the writers in whose works they appear. The Delphic verse responses, authentic and unauthentic, range in length from one verse to fifty-one, the Didymaean from one to fifteen.[31]

Most of the Quasi-Historical verse oracles of Didyma consist of only the message with occasional explication added. In this respect they differ from most Delphic Quasi-Historical verse oracles, which show the characteristics of traditional oracles, narrative and chresmologic, in verse. For example, the religious/philosophic responses (R45–51), even when fairly long, confine themselves to answering the question asked.

Traditional oracles have conventional structures, which, when complete, have six components: A, salutation; B, restatement of the question; C, assertion of mantic authority; D, condition precedent; E, message; F, explication. These components may appear in any order. Many Legendary and unauthentic Quasi-Historical oracles attributed to Delphi have the characteristics of traditional verse oracles, showing from three to six components. Only one Quasi-Historical verse oracle in the Didymaean Catalogue shows more than two components. R47, a ten-verse response, begins, "About Pytho and Klaros, Phoibos' Oracles, my voice shall speak in oracular utterances" (1–2), where we perceive a vague restatement of the question (B) followed by an assertion of mantic authority (C). Verses 3–6 may be considered explicative (F): there have been numerous Oracles on earth, which earth and time have obliterated. Then the message (E) is spoken in 7–10: Apollo (identified with Helios) now has only the Oracles of Didyma, Pytho, and Klaros in operation. The structure is BCFE.[32]

The Historical responses of Didyma, like those of Delphi, show little or nothing besides the message, with two exceptions. R25, the longest Didymaean verse oracle (fifteen lines) has the structure of a traditional verse oracle; it is by far the best poetic composition among the Historical responses and was, it appears, consciously written on

31. R24 (H) is the same as an entry in my Delphic Catalogue, H67 (PW 467). See *Comment* on R24.

32. On the structure of traditional oracles with analysis of "Delphic" verse oracles see Fontenrose 1978: 174–186.

the model of the oracular-verse tradition. It begins with a salutation (A) and an allusive restatement of the question (B) in the first verse, followed by a light assertion of mantic authority (C) in the second verse, "You have come to hear my mantic voice." Verses 3–7 on the birth and functions of Athena may be considered explicative, followed by an explicit reason, introduced by *gar* (F) for the message. The explication is complex: Athena must have a priestess of good family, but Satorneila has been married, and Aphrodite and Athena are opposites (here *gar* appears once more to explain the difference). Finally, preceded by another mild assertion of mantic authority (C) in 14, "therefore in obedience to the Moirai and Pallas," the message (E) is spoken, "Appoint Satorneila priestess" (14–15). Every component except D is present; the order is ABCFCE. In R29, a seven-verse oracle, perhaps five components are visible. We may look upon the first two verses as a kind of salutation (A): "Like a wide tree you have thriving branches [etc.]"; this opening reminds one of Delphic L41, which begins, Ὄλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ . . . τοῦ δ' ἤτοι κλέος ἔσται ὅσην τ' ἐπικίδναται ἠώς, "Blessed is this man . . . and his fame shall be wherever the sun shines." That is, it begins with praise of the consultant. In 3–6 of R29 a light assertion of mantic authority (C) is combined with explication (F): "I should answer your question: you have obeyed my oracles." Then in the final verse the message (E) is spoken combined with an imprecise restatement of the question (B): "you have set your mind on altars for sacrifice," which appears to imply approval of whatever the consulting prophet wanted to do. The structure appears to be AC/FE/B. This too is fairly good oracular-verse composition.[33]

None of the frequent conventional openings of traditional verse oracles, such as Ἀλλ' *ὁπόταν* (But when), appears among surviving Didymaean verse oracles. R25 (H), however, begins Ὄψε μὲν ὦ ναέται . . . ἵκεσθε, "You have come late, O dwellers." This resembles Delphic L5: after the first verse, in which the god addresses Erginos, he says, ὄψ' ἦλθες γενεὴν διζήμενος, "You have come late looking for progeny." R36 (Q) begins, Καί μοι Γεργίθων τε φόνος μέλει ἀπτολεμίστων, "And the murder of the peaceful Gergithai concerns me." This is very like Delphic Q204, where the verb is repeated:

> Λευκτρά τέ μοι σκιοέντα μέλει καὶ Ἀλήσιον οὖδας
> καί μοι τὼ Σκεδάσου μέλετον δυσπενθέε κούρα.

33. On analysis of Historical and other authentic verse oracles of Delphi see Fontenrose 1978: 186–195.

> Shadowy Leuktra and the Alesian ground concern me, and the two sorrowful daughters of Skedasos concern me.

Q231 has the verb in the future tense, Ἐμοὶ μελήσει ταῦτα καὶ λευκαῖς κόραις, "This will concern me and the white maidens."[34]

Two Didymaean Historical responses simply put the question formula, "Is it better and preferable to do X?" into verse. For example, in R5, in answer to the question (expressed in formula 14, εἰ αὐτῷ λῷον καὶ ἄμεινον ἔσται κτλ.;), whether the demos of Miletos should admit Drerians and Milatians from Crete to the body politic, the response is, "Gladly receive helper men into your city as residents," καὶ γὰρ λῷον καὶ ἄμεινον, "for it is better and preferable." R28 has, Ἔστι τελεῖν πατρικῇ γνώμῃ λῷον καὶ ἄμεινον, "It is better and preferable to perform it according to ancestral judgement." R19 has the similar χρῆσθαι σύμφορόν ἐστι, "it is advantageous to use [the building skills and counsels of an able man]." Most Didymaean verse oracles express in poetic language directions that would ordinarily be spoken in prose. With these may be compared the probably authentic Delphic Q12 and Q148.[35]

There are Homeric echoes and diction in Didymaean verse responses, but almost no common formulaic phrases of epic occur in those that survive, authentic or unauthentic. R14 (H) ends with κακῶν ἀδαήμονες ὄντες, "being without knowledge of ills" (see Odyssey 12.208). Occasionally a poet adds a stock epithet to a god's name, as *Hêlios phaesimbrotos* in R47 (see Odyssey 10.138, 191). R55, allegedly spoken to the Emperor Licinius, Constantine's opponent, is a quotation of Iliad 8.102–103.

In general the inscribed Didymaean verses are competent, sometimes good (as R25), in contrast to the uniformly poor quality of inscribed Delphic verse responses. Furthermore it appears that Didymaean responses were usually expressed in verse (at least after 334), always dactylic hexameter, whereas authentic Delphic responses,

34. See also L164 (*IMagn* 17.16–23), where "It will concern my father and me and my sister" is the sixth verse; and L111 (Paus. 5.3.1), "Pisa is my father's concern, and he gave me Pytho." On traditional openings of verse oracles see Fontenrose 1978: 166–174. PW 130, taking R36 for a Delphic response, considered it incomplete, probably because of the introductory *kai*. L5: Paus. 9.37.4; Oinomaos *ap.* Eus. *PE* 5.30, 225cd. Q204: Paus. 9.14.3. Q231: Aristeides *Or.* 26, 339; Zenob. Athoos 29; Suda E1060. Cf. H17: Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.30; Zenob. Athoos 29.

35. Q12: Oinomaos *ap.* Eus. *PE* 5.32, 226d. Q148: Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6.3, 753P. See Fontenrose 1978: 192–193.

contrary to the conventional opinion, were seldom expressed in verse. There is no evidence that the Pythia's utterances were versified after she had spoken them (at least by cult personnel), but this, as we have seen, may have been the practice at Didyma.

Spontaneous Responses

A Didymaean inscription (*DI* 278) recorded a response spoken to the prophet Ulpius Athenagoras (RA1), now almost completely lost; it was apparently a verse response. The first seven lines of the inscription are legible; in the seventh we are informed, ᾧ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐν αὐτομ̣ατισμῷ ἔχρησε, "to whom the god spoke in *automatismos*." The verb *automatizein* occasionally introduces an oracular response, as in an inscription of Cyrene (*SEG* 9.3), which indirectly quotes Delphic Q47. It is taken to mean "speak spontaneously," that is, the promantis speaks before a question is asked (as in Delphic Q7). But in Herodotos' account of Q47, on which all later writers depend, Battos asks a question: ἐπειρωτῶντι δέ οἱ χρᾷ ἡ Πυθίη τάδε, "to his question the Pythia replied as follows." The Pythia says, "Battos, you have come about your voice, but Apollo sends you to Libya [etc.]" (compare Q45, the alternative version). It would appear, then, that in the Cyrenaic inscription *automatizein* means that Battos received no answer to his question, but an oracle on other matters. In RA1 it may be that the prophet received a message on topics other than what he had inquired about. In R23 and R25 (for example) the response is mostly on the nature and powers of goddesses, and only a verse or two in conclusion answers the question asked. In R29 too, responding to a prophet, although the god says that it is right for him to answer the prophet's question, he doesn't really do so, but talks about the questioner's virtues; an affirmative answer is only implied. Aristeides uses the verb for utterances of the Pythia and chresmologues. Chresmologues often spoke without being asked questions, but the Pythia did not. Apparently the meaning of the verb, employed for the spontaneous statements of solitary seers and chresmologues and also in narratives of gods' speaking spontaneously at Oracles, was extended to responses in which the speaker spoke on other matters than what the consultant had asked about.[36]

36. See H. W. Parke, "A Note on *αὐτοματίζω* in Connection with Prophecy," *JHS* 82 (1962): 145–146, who interprets the word to mean "speak spontaneously" and attempts to interpret Herod. 4.155 as meaning that Battos had not yet asked a question (Q47). Pind. *Pyth.* 4.60

THE CLIENTS OF THE ORACLE

Of thirty-three Historical responses of Didyma (and of ten others in Supplement A) nine (R4–8, 10, 12, 13, 25), and perhaps four others (R1, 3, 14, 32), were answers to questions asked by the city of Miletos; for fourteen others (R19, 21–24, 26–31, A1, A2, A4; and perhaps R14 belongs here) the consultants were (or probably were) Milesian citizens; the prophet himself was inquirer in four consultations (R29–31, A1; cf. RA5) and the comptroller in two (R27, 28). That is, of thirty-five known consultants about three-fourths were either the government or citizens of Miletos. The others were Iasos (R9) and Kyzikos (RA9)—colonies of Miletos; the cities of Teos (R11), Pergamon (RA7), and Kalymnos (RA10); and the individuals Lochos of Kos (R15), a poet probably not Milesian (Pseudo-Skymnos, R16), Appheion of Alexandria (R20), and the Emperor Diocletian through his envoy (R33). Of the probably authentic Quasi-Historical responses R34 was spoken to the Milesian state, R35 to Milesian colonists of Kyzikos or to Kyzikos, R56 to the Emperor Julian. The doubtful R38 was spoken to the city of Kyme. Altogether of known or probable recipients of authentic responses over three-fourths were Milesians or their colonists. Before 494, according to Herodotos (1.157.3), the Ionian and Aeolian cities of Asia (including nearby islands) consulted Didyma. After the revival of the Oracle Seleukid kings apparently sent envoys to make inquiries at Didyma; at least Didymaean oracles were spoken in their favor, as we learn from an inscribed letter of Seleukos II (*DI* 493.3–5). R41–43, allegedly spoken to Seleukos I, and R55, allegedly spoken to the Emperor Licinius, are certainly spurious. In an epigram (perhaps early fourth century A.D.) inscribed beneath a dedication to Apollo (*DI* 83) Rhodians mention the god's true oracles spoken in answer to their questions, evidence that the Rhodians consulted the Didymaean Oracle often enough for such a statement to be made. From the verses of Pseudo-Skymnos (R16) we learn that Apollo Didymeus advised Nikomedes II of Bithynia on matters of state. In the second century A.D. the charlatan Alexander of Abonuteichos sent many of his clients to

uses the phrase *αὐτομάτῳ κελάδῳ*, "with spontaneous cry," of the Pythia's speech to Battos in Q47; hence he uses the adjective in the sense in which *SEG* 9.3 uses the verb. See Aristeides *Or.* 49, 389. Amandry (1950: 56 note 1) interprets the Cyrenaic inscription correctly.

Didyma, as well as to Klaros and Mallos, wishing to make the priests and prophets his friends.[37]

For the most part, then, the Oracle at Didyma served the oracular needs of the Milesian state and its citizens. It sanctioned their statutes, treaties, and enterprises, and gave them directions on religious and public affairs. It was also consulted by Milesian colonies. The Oracle, moreover, had prestige far beyond Milesian borders, especially throughout Hellenic and Roman Asia and Aegean islands. As we have seen, Ionian Teos and Doric Rhodes and Kalymnos sent to Didyma for responses in later times; all Ionian and Aeolian cities did so before 494 (as Kyme in R38). Individuals of other cities inquired at Didyma (R15, 16, 20), and also monarchs—Seleukid kings, a Bithynian king, and two Roman emperors, Diocletian and Julian—sought responses at Didyma (and Licinius too, if R55 could be trusted). We have already observed that the Didymeia festival attracted visitors from other cities (p. 73), that Hellenes of other cities came to Didyma to worship Apollo, and that Julius Caesar and the Emperor Trajan were benefactors of Didyma.

The right of *promanteia,* of preceding others in consultation of the Oracle, was granted at Delphi to men of high rank. Miletos granted *promanteia* at Didyma to Antiochos I and his descendants. There is apparently no other record of *promanteia* at Didyma, but surely it was granted to distinguished men from time to time. If the above account of procedure is correct, *promanteia* at Didyma meant that the holder of the privilege would ask his question first, and it would be presented to the promantis first. For Antiochos, however, the grant was purely honorary; he was never likely to be present in person at a consultation.[38]

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37. On Didyma's clientele see Günther 1971: 124–127. See Lucian *Alex.* 29 on Alexander's clients. Rhodian Kamiros sent a *hieropoios* to the Didymeion in the first century B.C., but perhaps not to consult the Oracle, since he was also sent to Imbros (?) and Lemnos: M. Segre and I. Pugliese Carratelli, "Tituli Camirenses," *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene* 27–29 (n.s. 11–13) (1949–51): 216 no. 78 = *IBM* 353 = *IG* 12.1.701, lines 13–14.

38. *DI* 479.40–43. On Delphic *promanteia* see Amandry 1950: 113–114 and his citations.

VI

The Myth and Nature of Apollo Didymeus

DIDYMAEAN MYTHS

Conon and Varro tell the foundation myth of Didyma. Demoklos, a Delphian, had a son, Smikros (Little). In obedience to an oracle (L85) he sailed for Miletos with Smikros, then in his thirteenth year. Having stopped for a meal on the Milesian shore, Demoklos in his haste to continue his journey inadvertently left Smikros behind on the shore. A boy goatherd came upon Smikros and took him to his father, Eritharses (Patron, who took Smikros into his house and sent him out to tend goats with his own sons: Varro). Eritharses cherished him as much as his own son. Once when Smikros and the son (sons: Varro) were pasturing goats they caught a swan and put a dress on it. Then they quarreled over which of them should give the bird to Eritharses. When weary of fighting (*eris*) they took the dress from the swan and found that they had uncovered a woman instead. She was the goddess Leukothea (White Goddess), who told them to tell the Milesians that they should honor her with a boys' contest (to tell Patron that he should love Smikros especially: Varro, who does not name her). Smikros married the daughter of a prominent Milesian (Conon; Varro says she was Patron's daughter). When she was pregnant she dreamed that the sun entered her body through her mouth and left it through her genitals. When a son was born to her, she called him Branchos, because the sun had entered her body through her throat. He was a beautiful boy and Apollo fell in love with him

and kissed him when he found him pasturing sheep or goats (in the woods Branchos kissed Apollo, and Apollo embraced him: Varro). On this spot the altar of Apollo Philios was placed. Apollo gave Branchos a crown and wand and inspired him with the mantic art; then Branchos began to speak oracles at Didyma. Finally, according to Varro, Branchos vanished and a temple was built for him called *Branchiadôn* (of the Branchi[a]dai), and temples were built for Apollo and Branchos called *Philesia* either from Branchos' kiss or from the boys' strife (since it was for love [*philia*] of Patron).[1]

According to Callimachus (*Branchos* 229.12–13 Pf. with *Diegesis* X15), Conon's source, a dolphin carried Apollo from Delos to the place called Hiera Hyle, Holy Wood, where Branchos was. This appears to be the place where he kissed Branchos, the site of the altar of Apollo Philios. The dolphin carrier is meant to account for Apollo's epithet Delphinios.

Conon's version reveals either a Delphic attempt to claim credit for founding the Oracle at Didyma or a later Milesian attempt (after 334 B.C.) to trace Didymaean origins to Delphi: Demoklos was a Delphian, and a Delphic response sent him off to Miletos. Strabo also gives Branchos a Delphic origin: he was a descendant of Machaireus (the Delphic priest who killed Neoptolemos or helped Orestes kill him). The Delphian origin is taken from Callimachus' *Branchos;* in the surviving fragment Branchos' lineage goes back to Daites, Machaireus' father (229.7 Pf.). But this lineage surely does not belong to the archaic foundation myth. Varro does not name Smikros' father, whom he calls only *Cius quidam;* he came from the island of Keos, not from Delphi. According to Lactantius Placidus (on *Thebaid* 3.479), Branchos was a Thessalian.[2]

The love of Apollo for Branchos is several times referred to in late Greek and Latin literature. Lactantius Placidus compares Branchos to Hyakinthos as object of Apollo's love. Philostratos says that Apollo served Branchos as he had served Admetos, meaning apparently that the god aided the boy Branchos as shepherd or goatherd. Apollo was also reputed to be Branchos' father, though in the foundation myth

1. Conon *Narr.* 33; Varro *ap.* Lact. Plac. *Theb.* 8.198. The story was told by Callimachus in his *Branchos*, 229 Pf., probably the source of Conon's version. See also Strabo 9.3.9, 421; 14.1.5, 634; Lact. Plac. *Theb.* 3.479; Ter. Maur. *Metr.* 1885–1888; Longos, *Daphnis and Chloe* 4.17; Philostr. *Epist.* 5, 8, 51; First Vatican Myth. 81; Second Vatican Myth. 85 (the Vatican Mythographers repeat Varro's version). In this story *branchos* appears to mean "windpipe" or "throat"; elsewhere it means "hoarseness" or "sore throat."

2. See Fontenrose 1960: 220–221.

his mother was pregnant from Smikros when she had her dream of the sun's entering her womb; the sun in some way represents Apollo, who in this fashion assumed the fatherhood of Branchos or at least shared in it. Statius and his commentator explicitly assert that Branchos was Apollo's son.[3]

The foundation myth as told by Conon has a sequel in the story of Euangelos (Conon *Narr.* 44). When King Laodamas of Miletos took the Euboian city of Karystos and enslaved the population, there was among his captives a woman who was nursing an infant boy. In accordance with an oracle, probably supposed to be Didymaean (R60), he included her in the tithe of booty that he offered to Apollo at Didyma. At this time Branchos himself was prophet, and he treated the Karystian woman with great respect and adopted her boy as his son. The child flourished superhumanly in both mind and body. When he was old enough Branchos made him messenger (*angelos*) of the oracles and named him Euangelos; he inherited the prophethood from Branchos and was father of the Euangelidai family at Miletos.

It is an anachronistic tale, since it places Branchos in the late eighth century B.C. (see *Comment* on R60); Laodamas and Amphitres/Phitres, whom Conon also mentions, were the last Neileid kings of Miletos. The foundation myth had to arise after the foundation of the Oracle, which was probably no earlier than 900 B.C. Since Laodamas probably lived around 700, the Euangelos sequel, as Conon tells it, would have to have been told first many years later and after the Euangelidai had become an established family or association at Didyma. Hence it could hardly be earlier than about 625 and is likely to be a sixth-century product. Since the Branchidai disappeared after 494 B.C. and are never mentioned in Didymaean and Milesian inscriptions, and since Branchos was their eponymous ancestor, mentioned only once in an inscription (*DI* 219, Flavian period), the Euangelos tale is presumably archaic. The Branchos myth is no doubt earlier, told after the Branchidai had adopted Branchos as their ancestor.[4]

Besides adopting Euangelos, Branchos' only recorded act as prophet was to cleanse the Milesians after a plague. As the story was told, Branchos, using sprigs of bay, sprinkled the assembled people with holy water and began a responsive hymn: he sang, Μέλπετε ὦ

3. Apollo lover of Branchos: Conon *Narr.* 33; Strabo 14.1.5, 634; Lact. Plac. *Theb.* 3.479; Varro, Longos, Ter. Maur., Philostr., *locc. cit.* Apollo father of Branchos: Stat. *Theb.* 3.478–479; Lact. Plac. *Theb.* 8.198; *IG* 12.5.893 (see note 13 below).

4. See Fontenrose 1933b: 103 note 20.

παῖδες Ἑκάεργον καὶ Ἑκαέργαν, "Sing, boys, Hekaergos and Hekaerga [Apollo and Artemis]." The people responded with

Βέδυ ζὰμψ χθὼ πλῆκτρον σφὶγξ
κναξζβὶ χθύπτης φλεγμὼ δρόψ.

This is simply a meaningless series of words, some of which are unintelligible and not Greek. The first word *bedy* is said to be Phrygian for water or air; *zamps* is unintelligible; *chthô* is apparently formed from *chthôn* (earth); then come two real words: the first, of course, is "plectrum," and *sphinx* means "binder" or "ape" besides being the name of the famous demoness of Thebes. In the second line *knaxzbi* is unintelligible (formed from *knêkos,* "safflower," or *knax,* "white milk"?); *chthyptês* is a rare word for cheese; *phlegmô* is formed from *phlegmos* (blood), and *drops* perhaps from *drosos* (dew) or *hydrops* (dropsy). The first line, then, names at least two elements, and the second may show a series of foods and liquids; but that is as far as we can go in extracting meaning from the lines. Each line has the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet, each used once. The series looks as though it were originally devised to teach the letters of the alphabet to children; but in the Branchos tale the words obviously form an incantation, used for the magical purification of a city and its people, perhaps an actual spell drawn into the Branchos myth (one may compare *abracadabra*). There is no need to look for mystic or "Orphic" meanings here or for evidence of a pre-Hellenic origin of Didyma.[5]

In the text of the Koan inscription that is the source of R10, the Milesian decree that invites all Hellenes to the new quadrennial Didymeian festival gives as reason for the consecration of the city and land that the union of Zeus and Leto had occurred at Didyma: διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς μεῖξιν (8–10); there Leto had become pregnant with Apollo and Artemis after union with Zeus. To this myth Callimachus perhaps alluded in his *Branchos:* Δαίμονες εὐυμνότατοι Φοῖβέ τε καὶ Ζεῦ, Διδύμων γενάρχα (229.1 Pf.), "Gods celebrated in hymns, Phoibos and Zeus, ancestors of Didyma." But the verse may be only an invocation of the two great gods of Didyma. Sixth-century figures of a seated god and goddess, no doubt Zeus

5. Apollodoros of Kerkyra *ap.* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.8.48, 674P. For interpretations see Clement's context beginning at 5.8.46. See Fontenrose 1933a: 144–146; Otto Kern, *Die Religion der Griechen,* Vol. 1 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1926), 150. On Orphic meaning see *RE* 3:809–810. On misconceptions of Orphism see Linforth 1941: 261–306.

and Leto, have been found at Didyma, and there was an altar of Zeus and Leto in the fifth-century adyton (p. 134). This is evidence of an early cult of Leto, but does not prove the myth of *hieros gamos* at Didyma to be older than the fourth or third century, perhaps devised soon after the revival of the Oracle.[6]

Probably, as Herzog suggested (see note 6), Didyma, as one of Apollo's greatest sanctuaries, wanted to be the site of some vital event in the history of Apollo's birth or boyhood. Both Delos and Ephesos claimed to be the scene of the god's birth; Delphi had preempted the scene of his first exploit. Hence the site of his conception remained for Didyma to claim.

Herakles, as already noticed, founded the great ash altar before the temple (Pausanias 5.13.11). We are not told why he did so or why he came to Didyma. Perhaps because he was reputed to have founded the similar altar at Olympia, he was given credit for the Didymaean altar too.

PROVINCES AND FUNCTIONS OF APOLLO DIDYMEUS

Mantic Art

Apollo Didymeus as speaker of oracles at Didyma has been adequately discussed in chapter V. Oracle-speaking and divination became Apollo's primary province throughout Hellas, whatever his original character. In the Greek and Hellenized cities of western and southern Asia Minor there were many Oracles of Apollo, e.g., Klaros, Gryneion in the Troad, Patara in Lykia, Mallos in Cilicia, besides Didyma.[7]

Healing

Apollo Didymeus' mantic art is basic to all his other functions. As an oracular god he was consulted on pestilence in cities and sickness of individual persons. We have noticed the legend in which Branchos purified the Milesians after a plague. In an inscribed poem Apollo Didymeus as speaker asserts that he drives diseases away and

6. See Herzog 1905; Günther 1971: 104–107. On archaic statues and fifth-century altar see Hahland 1964: 162–165. A Milesian coin-type shows Leto in flight, looking back as if at a pursuer while she runs; see p. 135, note 24 below.

7. See Farnell 1907: 223–231; Arthur Fairbanks, *A Handbook of Greek Religion* (New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, 1910), 56–64, 152; W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and Their Gods* (London: Methuen, 1950), 84–85, 184–189; Nilsson 1967: 544–547; Fontenrose 1978: 228–229.

shames the Moirai's threads (*DI* 217.12–13 = RB1). The physician, C. Pomponius Pollio, was called by Apollo to be physician or prophet according to the inscription that he composed at the end of his term (*DI* 280 = RB4). In the city an offering was made to Apollo Didymeus along with Asklepios Soter and Hygieia, and poets called him Paian (Healer). The cult of Apollo Iatros (Apollo Physician) was established in several Milesian colonies—Pantikapaion, Apollonia Pontike, Istros, Olbia. Since those settlements were very likely sanctioned at Didyma, the cult of Apollo Iatros probably reflects the healing faculties of Apollo Didymeus. Though we have no example of a consultant's question on plague or illness, we cannot doubt that the Didymaean Apollo was often asked in many unrecorded consultations for a healing response.[8]

Music and Poetry

The Apollo of Didyma is called Chrysolyras (god of the golden lyre) in the third of the three epigrams inscribed on Festus' spring chamber in the adyton after the Goths' attack in 262/3 (*DI* 159 III.2). Since the name is here directly given to Apollo Didymeus in his temple, we may believe that when pseudo-Skymnos calls him Mousagetes (leader of Muses), he means more than a poetic ornament: the name is relevant to the god's nature (R16, verse 60; see also *IG* 12.5.893). We have noticed that Apollo Didymeus had a choir of hymnodes who sang at mantic sessions and, no doubt, on festival occasions. In the poem mentioned above (under *Healing*) Apollo expresses his delight in all song, in old song especially (*DI* 217.8–10). There was also the chorus of women and another of men, as well as a chorus of girls, who sang at the great ox-sacrifice of the Didymeia (*DI* 537). The composition of verse-oracles at Didyma and elsewhere, and more especially in oracular narratives and chresmologic practice, resulted in associating Apollo with poetry and music. A votive relief from Didyma shows Apollo as kitharode seated, lyre in hand, accompanied by Leto, Artemis, Zeus, Demeter, Kore, the Muses, and nymphs; an altar in the lower register with human worshipers beside it indicates that this is Apollo Didymeus in company with the other gods of Didyma, among whom are the Muses (Tuchelt 1972: 89–90, 102–103, 105; figs. 1, 2, 4).

8. Milesian inscription: *CIG* 2864. Apollo Iatros: *IOSPE* 1.93; *CIRB* 6, 10, 25, 974; Bilabel 1920: 106, 109, 111. Paian: Ter. Maur. *Metr.* 1888; cf. *IG* 12.5.893 (see note 13 below). See R. D. Miller 1939: 38–41.

Law and Order: Guardian of the City

The city of Miletos, as already noticed, regularly went to Apollo Didymeus for sanctions and directions from the period of Milesian colonization of Pontic regions in the seventh and sixth centuries to the imperial period, when its concerns were local and cultic. In the third century B.C. the Oracle sanctioned the admission of immigrants from Cretan cities to Milesian citizenship (R5–7), and in 180 B.C. a treaty with Herakleia-under-Latmos (R12). Hence as a direct consequence of his oracle-speaking Apollo Didymeus became established as the principal divine guardian of the Milesian city-state and the protector of law and order, not only for Miletos but for other cities as well. In R9 he advised self-government in harmony for Iasos. He was called *prokathêgêmôn* (guide) of Miletos (*Milet* 1.3.134.6–8), and known as *archêgetês* (first leader or author) of Kyzikos and the Seleukid dynasty (R9, 34). A small altar was dedicated at Didyma in the second century B.C. (*DI* 75), and three altars were dedicated in the city of Miletos in the second and first centuries (*Milet* 1.7.279–281) to Apollo Didymeus Soter. Public buildings and altars in the city were dedicated to Apollo Didymeus and the Demos of the Milesians, to whom Hestia Bûlaia and in later times Roman emperors were sometimes added.[9]

Apollo Didymeus was invoked first and foremost in the prayers and oaths spoken in confirmation of treaties and pacts, and received sacrifices on occasions of ratification, sometimes with Apollo Delphinios, Hestia Bûlaia, and the Demos of the Milesians. Almost every Milesian coin is stamped with the figure, head, or attribute (often the bow) of Apollo, perhaps representing both Apollo Didymeus and Apollo Delphinios. Some coins show the Kanachos Apollo between the front columns of the naiskos. On alliance coins the figure of Apollo represents Miletos: the figures of Apollo Didymeus and Artemis Ephesia on coins represent an alliance of Miletos and Ephesos.[10]

Protection of Wildlife

As represented in Kanachos' cult image Apollo Didymeus holds a deer in an outstretched hand (see below). In the story of Aristodikos

9. Dedications: *Milet* 1.2.1, 2, 5; Haussoullier 1902: 260; *DI* 58.

10. Treaties: *Milet* 1.3.36b, 37c, 143, 146, 150 (= R12); cf. 148, where the god's name is restored. For coins of Miletos see Deppert-Lippitz 1984: 133–196; *BMGC*, Ionia, pp. 189–202, nos. 51–75, 80–141, 146–149, 152–154, 159, 163, 168, pls. xxi.8–17, xxii.1–10; alliance coin: *ibid.* p. 202, no. 169, pl. xxxix.1. Sacred staters in time of Eumenes II of Pergamon: *DI* 488.48–49.

and the Kymaian consultation (R39) birds nested on the walls of Apollo's temple, and the god considered himself their protector, objecting when Aristodikos removed their nests.

Sun God

Almost everybody now recognizes that Apollo was not originally a sun god; he is quite distinct from Helios in the Homeric epics and all pre-Hellenistic literature. But there is some question of when he was first so identified and of when he became widely recognized as a solar deity in cult as well as in philosophical conceptions and popular belief.[11]

There is some evidence that Apollo Didymeus had a solar character at Miletos in archaic times. In the cult myth, which is presumably archaic in origin (see above), the sun enters the pregnant womb of Smikros' wife in her dream, and the child that she bears thereafter is Branchos. On Milesian coins of the sixth century B.C. the obverse shows a sun or star over a lion's head; afterwards until the fourth century A.D. on either obverse or reverse of some types a standing or recumbent lion looks back at a sun. It is possible that the cult of Helios on the east side of the Aegean affected the Milesian conception of Apollo. Helios was patron god of Rhodes, where he had a flourishing cult, and was worshiped at Kos, Knidos, Smyrna, Pergamon, Thera, and Lykia. Still, there is nothing conclusive in this evidence. The sun in the dream may be a symbol of divine potency, signifying supernatural powers for the child in the womb. The sun on Milesian coins may have no more connection with Apollo than the lion has, and the lion was not commonly known as Apollo's animal, although there were several lion sculptures in Didyma and on the Sacred Way. Hence we cannot be sure that Apollo Didymeus was identified with Helios before the second century A.D. at the earliest.[12]

But certainly in late antiquity Apollo Didymeus was called Helios, as already observed in the question of R30, near 300 A.D., wherein the god is addressed as *despotês Didymeus Hêlios*. An altar of Poseidon

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11. See K. O. Müller, *Die Dorier* (Breslau, 1844), 286–291; Wernicke 1896: 19–21; Farnell 1907: 136–144; Fontenrose 1939, 1940.

12. Milesian coins to 500 B.C.: *BMGC*, Ionia, p. 188, nos. 45–50, pl. xxi.7. Later Milesian coins: Deppert-Lippitz 1984: 133–196; *BMGC*, Ionia, pp. 189–199, nos. 51–75, 80–141, 147, 154, pls. xxi.7–17, xxii.1–9. On cults of Helios see *LM* 1:2024–2025; *RE* 8:63–70. See *CIG* 2653 (Knidos), 3137.70 (Smyrna), *ICos* 64. For Didymaean lion sculptures see e.g. Tuchelt 1973: pl. 30. On the sun as dream symbol see Artem. *Oneir.* 2.36, 133: the rising or setting sun foretells the birth of a son to some dreamers. This seems to mean male children, since the following explanatory clause, introduced by *gar*, says that parents call their male children (*arsenika tekna*) "suns" as an endearing term (*hyperkorizomenoi*).

was set up in accordance with a response of *Didymeus Hêlios Apollôn* (R32, also about 300 A.D.). In R47 the lord of Didyma, Delphi, and Klaros is called *Hêlios phaesimbrotos,* Helios lightbringer. Although this is probably not an authentic response, it is a late production, surely no earlier than the second century A.D., and offers evidence of the solar character given Apollo in the later imperial period. Furthermore it offers evidence that the learned identification of Apollo with the sun in the second and third centuries had some effect on the cult of Apollo in general and on that of Apollo Didymeus in particular.[13]

Aside from his identification with the sun, possibly early, Apollo has no unusual character at Didyma. He is seer, physician, musician, and city guardian as elsewhere.

EPITHETS

In the inscriptions of Didyma and Miletos the Apollo of Didyma is always called *Didymeus* or occasionally *Didymaios.* He was not called *Philêsios,* as some scholars have asserted: that is Apollo's epithet in a minor cult (see below). The epithet *Didymeus* is purely geographical in meaning: Apollo Didymeus is the Apollo of Didyma, Ἀπόλλων ὁ ἐν Διδύμοις (see *DI* 424.12). The temple name, *Didymeion* or rarely *Didymaion,* is sufficient proof of the recognized cult epithet.[14]

Apollo at Didyma was called by other names too, descriptive or honorific or poetic. Obviously he would derive epithets from the alternative place name, Branchidai; he was the Apollo of Branchidai, Ἀπόλλων ὁ ἐν Βρανχίδαις (Pausanias 8.46.3), and therefore called *Branchides* (Mela 1.17.1), *Branchiades* (Lactantius *Theb.* 3.479), *Branchiatês* (Menandros Retor *Epid.* 3.445 Sp.), *Branchios* (Orphic Hymn

13. One may also mention Macr. *Sat.* 1.17.64, who identifies Apollo Didymeus with the sun and says that the Romans worshiped the sun as Janus Didymaeus Apollo. Apollo/Helios is called Didymaeus, Macrobius says, because he makes a double image of his power by illuminating the moon (*geminam speciem sui numinis: geminam* translates *didymon/didymên* [*eidos/idean* or *morphên*]). In a hymn to Apollo inscribed at Tenos celebrating Apollo as lord of Delos, father of Klaros and Branchos, he is called *phaesimbrotos Titan: IG* 12.5.893 (circa 200 A.D.).

14. *Didymaios* appears only under the empire. Its first appearance is as *Didymaeus* in Pliny *NH* 6.16.49. It may be that Greek *Didymaios* copies the Latin form; it occurs only in late inscriptions and writers: *Milet* 1.7.274; Haussoullier 1902: 288; Sext. Emp. *Hyp.* 3.221; Julian *Epist.* 451a; Frag. Epist. 297c (R52); Schol. vet. on Aristoph. *Lys.* 1281; Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 1.7.1 (R55); Theodor. *Gr. aff. cur.* 10.3, 136; 46, 142. *Didymaeus:* Pliny *loc. cit.*; Ulpian *Tit.* 22.6; Macr. *Sat.* 1.17.64; Arnob. *Adv. gent.* 1.26. *Didymeion, Didymaion: IG* 12.1.701; Pliny *NH* 34.8.75; Suet. *Gaius* 21; Plut. *Pomp.* 24; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 3.45, 39P; Arnob. *Adv. gent.* 6.6; Stat. *Theb.* 8.199.

34.7); cf. *τέμενος ἀμφέπων Βράγχου*, protector of Branchos' temenos (*DI* 219). Latin writers sometimes call him *Milesius* (Apuleius, R61); and a scholiast on Clement refers to him as *ὁ ἐν Μιλήτῳ Ἀπόλλων* (Apollo in Miletos, *Protr.* 2.11, 11P). As patron god of the city he was called *prokathêgêmôn, archêgetês, Sôtêr,* as already made evident (see above, *Law and Order*), also ruler of Neileus' people (*μεδέων Νείλεω δήμου*, Callimachus *Iamb.* 1.76, 191 Pf.), and father of Didyma (*Didymôn genarchês,* Callimachus 229.1 Pf.). For Brogitaros, tetrarch of the Trokmian Gauls, Apollo Didymeus was *patrôos,* his ancestral god (*DI* 475.36–39).

As we might expect, the Didymaean Apollo was poetically called *Phoibos, Paian, Hekaergos, Lêtôidês,* scion of Zeus and Leto (*Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς ἔρνος*, *DI* 159 III 13), *Pythios, Loxidias, despotês, anax.* In poetry and song he was occasionally called *Hekatos, Chrysolyrês, Mousêgetês* (see above, *Music and Poetry*), and *themisteuôn.*[15]

Identified with the sun-god, Apollo Didymeus was called *Hêlios* and *phaesimbrotos* (see above, *Sun God*).

IMAGE AND ATTRIBUTES

The bronze image of Apollo made by Kanachos in the sixth century B.C. served as the cult image of Apollo Didymeus until the end of the cult in the late fourth century A.D. It was taken by the Persians to Ekbatana in 494 B.C. and returned to Didyma by Seleukos Nikator after his victory at Ipsos in 301 B.C. (see p. 16). The original bronze was probably melted down not long after the Christians occupied the

15. *Phoibos*: *DI* 82A.1, 82B, 229 II.9, 537.8, 13; *Milet* 1.3.175, 1.7.205a; R20, line 10; Callim. 229.1 Pf.; Apollonides, Anth. Pal. 7.631; Ter. Maur. *Metr.* 1886. Paian: see note 8. Hekaergos: Apollodoros of Kerkyra *ap.* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.8.48, 674P. *Lêtoïdês*: *DI* 159 III.4. *Pythios*: *DI* 159 III.1. Loxidias: *DI* 260.4. *despotês*: R30, line 9. Hekatos: Apollon. *Arg.* 1.958 (R35). *anax*: *DI* 82A.1, 82B, 159 III.7, 219; Herod. 1.159.4 (R39C). *themisteuôn*: Ps.-Skymnos *Per.* 60 (R16). At *Alex.* 1207 Lykophron refers to Apollo as Iatros Lepsios Termintheus. The relation of Apollo Iatros to Apollo Didymeus has been noticed; *Lepsios* refers to Lepsia, a Milesian island; and Termintheus/Terbintheus is an epithet of both Apollo and Zeus at Miletos: *Milet* 1.3.150.79; Bericht 6: 27. Lykophron is referring to Apollo's oracle that ordered the Thebans to bring Hector's bones from Troy to Thebes (L101). Presumably the tellers of this tale meant the Delphic Apollo, although no one definitely names Delphi or the Pythian Apollo. Lykophron names the god in terms that suggest the Didymaean Apollo, meaning simply Apollo as speaker of oracles. It is the reverse of *DI* 159 I.1, where the poet refers to Apollo Didymeus as *Pythios.* Again at *Alex.* 1454 Kassandra refers to Apollo as *Lepsieus.* It is possible that some narrators supposed the speaker of L101 to be Apollo of Didyma; but it is unlikely that anyone thought the Thebans had received a response at Didyma.

temenos, but several small copies remain from antiquity, and a Milesian coin-type shows the Kanachos Apollo standing in the portal of a tetrastyle naiskos; it may also be seen on a gem and on a relief from the Milesian theatre. Hence we have some notion of what the figure looked like.

According to Pausanias the images of Apollo Didymeus at Didyma and of Apollo Ismenios at Thebes, both made by Kanachos, were alike in appearance and size; the Ismenian, however, was made of cedar wood. The Kanachos Apollo has the stiffness of archaic Greek sculpture; the god is naked, a *kouros,* with left leg advanced, a fillet around his head, and long flowing locks in curls, which descend over his shoulders. His left arm is bent, and his left hand holds a bow; his right arm is extended slightly downwards, and in the palm of his right hand he holds the figure of a deer, which faces forward in the statuette copy, but in the theatre relief turns its head back towards the god's face and has its right foreleg raised. According to Pliny the deer was so balanced on the image's hand that by manipulation it would rock so that its front feet and its hind feet were alternately off the surface and a thread could be drawn under them.[16]

On many Milesian coins Apollo is shown with bow and quiver and with a bay wreath on his head or encircling the circumference of the coin face. The bow, quiver, and bay wreath are conventional attributes of Apollo. The coins struck at Didyma (see p. 14) must represent Apollo Didymeus, but the city coins may represent Apollo Delphinios. Bay trees grew in the adyton, and bay was probably used for prophets' crowns and victor's garlands, and was perhaps present in the mantic ritual as at Delphi.[17]

ORIGIN OF APOLLO DIDYMEUS

Origin

When Apollo was established at Didyma is a question that we can only speculate upon. Did he come to Miletos and Didyma with the

16. Paus. 1.16.3, 2.10.5, 8.46.3, 9.10.2; Pliny *NH* 34.8.75; for a copy see Farnell 1907: pl. XXIV. Kanachos Apollo on Milesian coins: Deppert-Lippitz 1984: 193–196, nos. 941–1028; *BMGC,* Ionia, pp. 197–202, nos. 134–141, 146–149, 152, 153, 159, 163, 168, 169, pls. xxii.9, 10, xxxix.1. On a gem: A. Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen* (Leipzig 1900), pl. 40.1–2. Relief from Milesian theatre: see p. 41, note 21; fragment of votive relief, *AJA* 70 (1966): 156.

17. Milesian coins, bow and quiver: *BMGC,* Ionia, pp. 194–195, nos. 113–114, pl. xxii.2–3, and Kanachos Apollo type, note 16. Bay wreath: *ibid.* 189–197, 201, nos. 51–133, 166, pls. xxi.8–17, xxii.1–8; Deppert-Lippitz 1984: 133–193, nos. 1–940.

Ionians, or was his cult already present there, having arrived from inner Asia Minor?[18] Or did an indigenous god, worshiped at Didyma in the second millennium (although as yet nothing has been found at Didyma that dates from that period), receive the name after Apollo worshipers had reached Miletos? It is clear that his Oracle cannot antedate the Ionian migration, but the cult may antedate the Oracle, in the city if not at Didyma. If Apollo had an Asian origin, as seems likely, and if his cult had not reached the Greek peninsula in Mycenaean times—Apollo's name is absent from Linear B documents—it is unlikely that Cretans or Mycenaean Greeks introduced Apollo to Miletos; and it is hardly more likely that Ionian Greeks did so, if they migrated before 1000 B.C., since Apollo could not have been well established on the peninsula before that, and may not have appeared there yet.[19]

If Apollo was Asian to begin with, we need not suppose that his cult first crossed the Aegean to Greece and then came back to Asia with the Ionians. Either he came to Miletos in a westward movement from the Anatolian plateau or Lykia (where Wilamowitz places his origin) or he was indigenous to Caria. In this speculation we must keep in mind that we are talking about the god who bore the name Apollo; in effect, we are dealing with a divine name as well as with the god who bore the name.

In view of Apollo's probable Anatolian origin and the many Apolline Oracles in Asia Minor it would appear likely that Apollo became an oracular god in Anatolia, and perhaps first in the southwest; the earliest Apolline Oracles may have been those of Lykia and Caria. Hence the Didymaean Oracle may be older than the Delphic, reversing the ancient Delphic claim—not that Delphi was directly founded from Didyma, but that the institution of oracular sanctuary, an Oracle of Apollo, moved from Asia Minor to Delphi, which probably had the oldest on the peninsula. The whole development of Apolline

18. Kekule von Stradonitz 1904: 800.

19. On Apollo's Asian origin see Wilamowitz 1905, 1932: 30–31; Nilsson 1906: 104, 1967: 559–564. It was believed that Hittite/Luwian documents show forms of the name, Apulunas, Appaliunas; see B. Hrozný, "Les quatre autels 'Hittites' hiéroglyphiques d'Emir Ghazi et d'Eski Kišla et les divinités Apulunas (?) et Rutas," *Archiv Orientální* 8 (1936): 171–199; Emmanuel Laroche, *Recherches sur les noms des dieux Hittites* (Paris: Librairie Orientale et Américaine, G.-P. Maisonneuve, 1947), 80. But the readings or identifications are no longer accepted. R. D. Miller (1939: 5–24) rejects Asian origin and reaffirms a northern origin of Apollo, central or south-central European; see *ibid.* 52–53, 64, on Apollo as originally the averter of evil, *alexikakos*.

Oracles from Asian (Lykian?) beginnings to the foundation of the Delphic Oracle took place very likely between 1000 and 750.

Other Sites of the Cult

Apollo Didymeus received sacrifices in the city of Miletos at several small altars, as already noticed; at three of them he was called Soter. He was worshiped at nearby Iasos, a Milesian settlement, as attested in a dedicatory inscription. He apparently also had a cult in nearby Carian Mylasa: in a Mylasan decree of 209/8 the stephanephor is directed, in company with the priest of Apollo Didymeus, to make sacrifices to Zeus Osogas, Zeus Labrayndos, Hestia, and Apollo Didymeus. Further away, in Phrygian Nakoleia, a certain Servilius Antonius made a dedication to Apollo Didymeus (partly restoration, but fairly certain). According to the elder Pliny, Demodamas, general of Seleukos I and Antiochos I, erected an altar to Apollo Didymeus in Sogdiana on the farther side of the Iaxartes River.[20]

OTHER CULTS OF APOLLO AT DIDYMA

Apollo Philesios or Philios

Pliny gave the name Philesios to the Kanachos Apollo; hence down to the 1930s, if not later, many scholars supposed that the Didymaean Apollo's cult epithet was Philesios (or Philios, as in Conon's version of the cult myth). But, as we have seen, he was known only as Didymeus/Didymaios in the official documents and other inscriptions of Miletos and Didyma. There is no epigraphic and little literary evidence of the epithet Philesios or Philios. In my article "Apollo Philesius" I showed that Apollo Philesios/Philios had a minor cult and temple at Didyma, and I need not elaborate the argument here.[21]

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20. In city of Miletos: *Milet* 1.7.279–281, 299, 301; Bericht 7: 7; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (Paris, 1955): 20 note 6 (Zeus Aitherios Soter and Apollo Didymeus). Iasos: *REG* 6 (1893): 186 (31). Mylasa: *Milet* 1.3.146B. Nikoleia: *Arch.-epigr. Mitt. Oest.* 6 (1882): 52; cf. *JHS* 3 (1882): 125. Sogdiana: Pliny *NH* 6.16.49. The Mylasan decree seems to indicate a cult of Apollo Didymeus in that city and not just honor paid to the god of Didyma (whose priest would then be in Mylasa representing Miletos): the chief priest of Apollo Didymeus' cult, as we have seen, was called prophet, not priest (*hiereus*); the priest mentioned appears to preside over a Mylasan cult of Apollo Didymeus. On alleged Roman worship of Janus Didymeus Apollo see note 13.

21. See Fontenrose 1936b, also 1933a: 262–270. On Philesios as the Didymaean Apollo's epithet see Gelzer 1869: 3, 30–31; Bouché-Leclercq 1880: 3.232; Wernicke 1896: 72; Farnell

In the cult myth as Conon tells it, Apollo kissed Branchos where later stood the altar of Apollo Philios. In Lactantius Placidus' quotation or summary of Varro's version the epithet does not appear, but Varro says that the temples consecrated to Apollo and Branchos were called *Philesia,* which means that in his temple Apollo was worshiped as Philesios; and it is very likely that in Varro's own text Apollo was given this epithet. Otherwise we have only Pliny's application of the epithet to the Kanachos Apollo and two late references to the Apollo called Philesios. Arnobius makes an argument against the divinity of "Delius Apollo vel Clarius, Didymaeus, Philesius," and the position of *Philesius* immediately after *Didymaeus* indicates that to Arnobius this was a distinct epithet of the god. Finally Macrobius makes a solar interpretation of Apollo Philesius in the same chapter in which he gives a solar character to Apollo Didymeus.[22]

Varro mentions two temples (or possibly a double temple) for Apollo and Branchos called Philesia, but the great Didymeion even in the archaic period was in no sense a double temple, nor did it have a companion building; and certainly Branchos did not share the great temple with Apollo.

Hence, in view of the evidence, we must say that Pliny was mistaken in giving the epithet Philesios to the Kanachos Apollo, the image of Apollo Didymeus. One might conjecture that the image was given this name, although it was not the god's epithet in his great temple, within which the image stood. But Varro, probably trustworthy, mentions a temple of Apollo Philesios and therefore a cult of the god under that name. Furthermore Conon attests an altar of Apollo Philios on the site of the mythical event, and this would not seem to be the great altar of ashes before the Didymeion. We can only conclude that Apollo Philesios/Philios was worshiped in a smaller temple at Didyma beside a temple of Branchos (or that he shared a temple with Branchos). It is therefore unlikely that the cult image of Apollo Didymeus was given this name. No doubt Pliny found the title Philesios in Varro and supposed that it was the cult epithet of the great Apollo of Didyma.

Though there is no earlier evidence than what Conon and Varro

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1907: 172, 332; Gruppe 1906: 287–288; Bilabel 1920: 83 ("Sein eigentliche Beiname ist Φιλήσιος [Φίλιος]"); *RE* 10:1847.

22. Conon and Varro *locc. cit.* note 1; Pliny *NH* 34.8.75; Arnob. *Adv. gent.* 1.26; Macr. *Sat.* 1.17.49. It is possible that Varro's *templa* means "sanctuaries," "enclosures," and not temple buildings.

tell us, they surely drew on earlier sources. For Conon the source was no doubt Callimachus, who in turn depended on earlier authorities, perhaps Xanthos of Lydia or Hellanikos. It may be that the cult of Apollo Philesios was wholly archaic, disappearing after 494. The only evidence of it is the cult myth, presumably archaic, as told by Conon and Varro, Pliny's statement about the Kanachos Apollo, and two very late references. We find no dedications to him or other evidence of a cult at Didyma. I am inclined to think, however, that if Branchos still received worship in later times, though that is not altogether certain, Apollo Philesios still received attention too and retained a small temple (or sanctuary) and altar.

The epithet Philesios/Philios is explained in the cult myth by the kiss (*philêma, philein*) that Apollo gave Branchos (or vice versa). More likely it characterizes Apollo as a god of friendship and civic harmony. For this is the character of Zeus Philios, whose cult was widespread. Only in Didyma did Apollo have this epithet, as far as surviving records show.[23]

Apollo Ephopsios

DI 76, Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐφοψίου, "of Apollo Ephopsios," appears upon an ashlar block from a circular base, perhaps of an altar, found on the north side of the Didymeion. The inscription was cut perhaps in the late third century B.C. If the block comes from the base of a statue, the genitive case indicates not the name of the person represented by the statue (though the statue might represent Apollo), but a dedication to a god called Apollo Ephopsios (Epopsios), Apollo the Overseer. The name suits the oracular god, but the dedication to a god so named appears to mean a separate cult, perhaps marked only by an altar (and image?). Only Hesychios (E5533) attests *Epopsios* as a name of Apollo. Usually it is Zeus who is called Epopsios.[24]

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23. A minor deity called Philesios was worshiped beside Hermes as Hermes' grandson in Trapezos, settled from Sinope, a Milesian colony: Arrian *Periplûs* 2. Farnell (1907: 172) suggested that this Philesios descends from Apollo Philesios of Didyma. On Zeus Philios see Farnell 1896: 1.74.

24. Zeus Epopsios: *SIG* 1264; Callim. *Hymn* 1.81; Apollon. *Arg.* 2.1123, 1133; Ant. Lib. 6.2. Notice Hom. Hymn 3.495–496, where Apollo, establishing his cult as Delphinios at Krisa says, αὐτὰρ ὁ βωμὸς / αὐτὸς δελφίνιος καὶ ἐπόψιος ἔσσεται αἰεί, "moreover the altar will be *delphinios* [dolphinian] and *epopsios* [overseeing] always," perhaps with some play on words, now unclear.

Apollo Pidanasseus

DI 77, an inscription known only from a copy made in the early eighteenth century, records a dedication to Apollo Pidanas(s)eus: [Ἀπόλλ]ωνι Πιδανασεῖ / [τὴν ——] ἐργασίαν ἀνέθηκεν / [μετὰ] τοῦ κίονος, "To Apollo Pidanaseus [name] dedicated the —— work with the column." It was probably a sculpture that was dedicated to the god, presumably by the sculptor, as the dedicator's reference to it as *ergasia* would suggest. About nine kilometers east of Didyma was found a boundary marker (*DI* 70): Ὅρος τεμένου[ς] / Ἀπόλλωνος / Πιδανασσέως, "Boundary of Apollo Pidanasseus' temenos." Apollo Pidanasseus, therefore, had a cult in the neighborhood of Didyma. The dedication found at Didyma may be meant for that cult (the column drum on which the inscription was cut may have been carried in later times to Didyma) or the column (we have no way of knowing where it was seen or what it belonged to) may have been part of a chapel of Apollo Pidanasseus in Apollo Didymeus' temenos. This was the Apollo of Pidanassos, a Carian place-name, perhaps the name of the village or locality where Apollo Pidanasseus' temenos was situated.

Apollo Delphinios

As Apollo Didymeus was worshiped at several altars in the city, so Apollo Delphinios was recognized in worship at Didyma. We know of no altars, images, or dedications devoted to the Delphinian Apollo at Didyma, but, as already pointed out (see p. 52), the feasts of the Molpoi and Kosmoi were probably celebrated jointly at Didyma in honor of Apollo Didymeus and Apollo Delphinios; for the Molpoi and stephanephor, who were the ministers of Apollo Delphinios, came over the Sacred Way on specified occasions to Didyma and there probably not only celebrated the feast of the Molpoi once a year, but also made sacrifices to Apollo Delphinios along with Apollo Didymeus.

The myth episode noticed early in this chapter, wherein a dolphin carried Apollo from Delos to Holy Wood, apparently the sacred grove of Didyma, also relates Apollo Delphinios to Didyma.

The cult of Apollo Delphinios was widespread in Greece, prominent in Crete and the Aegean islands, but also spread over the Greek peninsula, as in Athens and Delphi, and beyond. He was a god of seafaring, and his name is apparently related to *delphis,* dolphin, hence

the dolphin as his attribute. As in Delphic myth Apollo came on a dolphin's back from Crete to Krisa/Pytho, so in Milesian myth Apollo came on a dolphin's back from Delos to Miletos.[25]

25. Athens: Paus. 1.19.1; Delphi: Hom. Hymn 3.493–496. See Farnell 1907: 145–147; Wolf Aly, *Der kretische Apollonkult* (Leipzig, 1908); M. H. Swindler, *Cretan Elements in the Cult and Ritual of Apollo* (Bryn Mawr, 1913), 20–29.

VII

Artemis, Leto, Zeus

Apollo, his sister Artemis, and his parents Zeus and Leto are the Didymaean family. Artemis and Zeus were the most prominent deities of Didyma after Apollo, and Leto's cult was important too.

ARTEMIS PYTHIE

The goddess called Artemis *Pythiê* or *Pytheiê* appears to have been the most venerated deity of Didyma after Apollo Didymeus. The cult of Artemis at Didyma may have been as old as Apollo's; she was worshiped there in the seventh century B.C. at the latest. Her archaic temenos has recently been discovered, and an inscription of probably the sixth century B.C. records an offering to her and Apollo (*DI* 17). It is a short inscription, badly damaged, written *boustrophêdon* (in the manner of oxen turning), i.e., in lines that alternate between right-to-left and left-to-right: [Ἀρτέ] μιδι [——καὶ Ἀπ]όλλω[νι], "to Artemis and Apollo." The restoration appears certain and the epithet *Pytheiê* in the dative case (Πυθείηι) may have filled the break after the goddess's name, but it is uncertain whether she had that title in archaic times; it is not attested before 280 B.C. (*DI* 115).

Temenos

In the year 300/299 B.C. the Milesian council and demos directed that a statue of Queen Apame, Seleukos I's wife, be placed εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς ἐν Διδύμοις, "in the sanctuary of the Artemis in Didyma" (*DI* 480.22). This is later called the sanctuary of Artemis Pythie: a hydrophor's portrait was placed [. . . ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς] Πυθίης Ἀρτέμιδος, "in the sanctuary of Artemis Pythie" (*DI* 312.27–28, dated 125–150).

In the 1977–1979 seasons the excavators of the German Archaeological Institute uncovered a temenos with altar and spring west of the Sacred Way behind the row of rooms that open upon the portico on the west side of the Way. The altar is situated about two hundred meters northwest of the northwest corner of the Didymeion. The deity worshiped there has now been identified as Artemis; and inasmuch as it was obviously the sanctuary of a prominent deity, it was surely that of Artemis Pythie. The earliest construction is dated in the seventh century B.C. In the course of the following millennium several reconstructions or revisions occurred.[1]

In the middle of the temenos is a mass of rock. Near the northwest corner of this was situated a spring or well, which supplied a basin on the west side of the rock. There were four other springs or wells within the complex, one of which supplied a basin near the southwest corner of the rock. An altar with its enclosure, which the excavators call *Altartemenos,* lies just beyond the north basin. Around this center other structures and features were added in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and the altar enclosure was enlarged. The row of rooms on the west side of the Sacred Way may have been included in Artemis' sanctuary; two at least gave access to the temenos on its east side.

No inscription found on the site identifies this as the sanctuary of Artemis Pythie. But it appears to be the sanctuary of a goddess, and its size and obvious importance point to Artemis Pythie as the goddess worshiped there (see Tuchelt 1984a: 230–234). The several springs or wells recall that her priestess was called hydrophor (water-carrier).

A sanctuary of Artemis Pythie is attested in an epigram of the second century B.C. (*DI* 118.2–5):

1. See Tuchelt 1980: 109–113; 1984a: 195–213, 225–240, pl. 2; 1984b: 4–5. For epigraphic evidence of Artemis' *hieron* see besides the inscriptions cited *DI* 445.5; Tuchelt 1973: 32–37.

[Ἁγναῖς] Ναϊάδων σεμνὸν παλάμαισι μ[ολόντες]
[δῶμα π]ρὸ παρθενίου τοῦδε δόμοιο [ϑεῆ]ς
[νᾶμα] ἀρύσασθε τόδε ἁγνὸν ἐπεὶ Διόδωρος Ὀλύμπου
σ[τῆ]σέ με Πυθείης Ἀρτέμιδος πρόπολος.[2]

Come with clean hands to the revered house of Naiads [springhouse] before the house of the virgin goddess and draw this holy flowing water, since Diodoros Olympos' son, minister of Artemis Pythie, placed me here.

The house mentioned in this epigram is apparently not a temple, but the sanctuary as the goddess's home. For it seems to have been a sanctuary like the Delphinion of Miletos, enclosing no structure that could be called a temple. There is possibly a reference to an Artemis temple in an inscription of about 100 A.D.: . . . *ἀναθεῖσα δὲ / [ἐκ τῶ]ν ἰδίων καὶ τὰς χαλκᾶς ϑύρας τοῦ / [—— τ]ῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὰ λίϑινα / σταθμὰ [σ]ὺν ὑπερθύρῳ καὶ ὀδῷ*, " . . . and dedicating out of her own funds both the bronze doors of the —— [?] of Artemis and the stone doorposts with lintel and threshold" (*DI* 381.7–10). Editors have restored *ναοῦ* (temple) at the beginning of line 9, which fits the space. If the restoration is correct, *naos* may be meant for the whole sanctuary. But *ἱεροῦ* (sanctuary) is a possible restoration, and the doors may be the sanctuary gates or the doors of some structure within it. Elsewhere in Didymaean inscriptions *naos* refers only to the Didymeion, aside from Naos as a name of the settlement at Didyma.[3]

Hydrophor

The priestess of Artemis Pythie was called *hydrophoros* (water-carrier). The eighty-two Didymaean inscriptions that honor hydrophors (*DI* 307–388) show her office to have been as prestigious as any at Didyma save the prophet's; her prestige was equal to that of the comptrollers. She served a one-year term coterminous with the prophet's. Some women held the office more than once, in one instance for two years in succession. We have no information on how the hydrophor was chosen or on any age requirement: apparently women of any age could hold the office.[4]

2. The text is Tuchelt's, 1973: 67–68.

3. Absence of temple: Tuchelt 1984a: 232–234. See Rehm, *DI* p. 232; Tuchelt 1973: 35–36.

4. One-year term: *DI* 310: this hydrophor's father was prophet in the same year. All hydrophor's inscriptions dated by naming the stephanephor and prophet under whom each served her term imply that the term coincided with the year of their incumbency. Two-year service: *DI*

The hydrophor, as priestess of Artemis Pythie, presided over the sacrifices made to the goddess and all other rites performed in her worship, among which mysteries are mentioned (see below), and she spoke the prayers that accompanied the sacrifices. Like the prophet she was expected to provide feasts and to make *dianomai* (distributions) during her tenure, and so incurred heavy expenses. Two hydrophors, a mother and daughter, feasted all free singers (*molpikoi*) resident in Miletos, whether at Didyma or in the city is not clear. Another feasted the residents of the sanctuary and provided olive oil. The hydrophors' *dianomai* were regularly made to the council and to the women and children from Naos, i.e., the village of Didyma (*DI* 312), but sometimes to the residents of the sanctuary (*hieron*) and to citizens of Miletos.[5]

Like the prophets the hydrophors voluntarily assumed duties and benefactions *hyper tês hydrophorias,* usually meaning, I believe, "over and above (the expenses and regular duties of) the hydrophorship," but sometimes "in behalf of the hydrophorship" (see next paragraph). As observed in chapter IV two hydrophors took over the management of the boys' contest at the Anoigmoi festival. In fact, it

340. *DI* 346 = *Milet* 1.3, p. 409, line 2: a hydrophor served sixteen months, reason unstated. *DI* 331.11–12 does not mean, as I see it, that a hydrophor was elected at the age of six years (see *DI* p. 214), but rather that the woman was elected to the office, specified in the missing end of the line, which she held for six years. On hydrophors' inscriptions see Robert 1960: 463–481.

5. Sacrifices and libations: *DI* 327.4–5, 353.12–16, 384, and citations in note 13. In *DI* 375.6–11 (3d cent A.D.) a hydrophor says that she performed all libations for the council and for everyone around the Oracle, and poured libations over the hecatomb set before (the altars) according to the *logia* (instructions, responses ?) of the god: *κα[ὶ τῇ] προτε̣θ[εί]σῃ ἑκατόμβῃ ἐπι-[σπείσασα] κατὰ τὰ λόγια τοῦ θ[εοῦ . . .]*. It is evident that the restoration is uncertain, but if correct, these libations were evidently not poured in Artemis' cult: the hecatomb was probably sacrificed to Apollo. The *logia* perhaps refer to the customary rites as traditionally prescribed. On the feasting of the *molpikoi* see *DI* 322.9–10 (earlier than 1 B.C.), 345.23–25. In the former the hydrophor Hedea lists among the services of her kinsmen and herself *διπν[ίζοντες τοὺς κατοικοῦν]τας τὴν πόλιν μολπικ[οὺς——]*, "feasting the singers who live in the city." In the other Hedea's daughter, Minnis Berenike, did the same service: *δεδιπνικυῖα δὲ ἐν τῷ τῆς ὑδροφορίας χ[ρό/νωι πάντ]ας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Μίλητον ἐλευθέρο[υς . . . τ]οὺς μολπικούς*, "and having feasted in the term of her hydrophoria all the free . . . singers who live in Miletos." Rehm suggested *χωρὶς δὲ* at the beginning of 25; then Minnis would say that she had feasted all Milesian freemen "and separately the singers." But it seems to me that *katoikountas* must modify *molpikous* as in *DI* 322. Some other modifier may have filled the lacuna, or a numeral adverb such as *tetrakis*: she feasted them four times. The description of the *molpikoi* as free and inhabitants of the city proves that they are not the Molpoi, who were certainly both, but would never be so described: the adjectives distinguish these *molpikoi* from others who are not free nor inhabitants of the city. For feasting the residents of the sanctuary see *DI* 329.10–12 (imperial period). For a hydrophor's inscribed prayer in verse see *DI* 340.17–18. Distributions (*dianomai*): *DI* 312.20–22, 333.8–10, 353.10–12, 360.6–8, 375.1–6, 381.5–7, 382.1–3.

is possible that the agonothet of the Anoigmoi was always the hydrophor (or perhaps always a woman, since performance of this duty is not mentioned in most hydrophors' inscriptions); there survives no record of a man's holding the office.[6]

What is the significance of the title *hydrophoros* given to Artemis' priestess? Nothing said in hydrophors' inscriptions or in any other that mentions the office provides any clue to the significance of the title—with possibly one exception. Three inscriptions of the late first century A.D. refer to the benefactions of Iason, a prophet, and his wife, Mnemosyne, along with his son, Iason, and daughter, the hydrophor Theogenis, who in behalf of (*hyper*) Theogenis' *hydrophoria* provided new waterpipes (*hyponomoi*), wells (*phreata*), and tanks (*hydreia*); and Theogenis in her own inscription of her services as hydrophor mentions fountains (*krênai*) that she and her family had constructed before the temple (*naou* is restored). But this was a family benefaction; the temple was apparently that of Apollo Didymeus, and the water was consecrated for all the gods.[7]

Yet the priestess's title must have some relevance to the cult of Artemis Pythie. We have noticed the several springs, wells, or fountains in Artemis' sanctuary. The hydrophor may have had to carry water in the mysteries of Artemis, or perhaps in all her rites and possibly those of other Didymaean deities. Hydrophor is a common Ionian or Asian Greek title for priestesses of Artemis and indeed of other divinities, whatever the original significance of the word as title. One hydrophor of Artemis Pythie also served as hydrophor of Artemis Patnia (Patmia), Artemis at the Gates, Artemis Chitone, and another Artemis whose title is lost (probably city cults), whether all in the same year or at different times is not said. Another had been hydrophor of Dionysos Eligeus. Priestesses of Artemis in Ephesos, Klaros, and Sardis were called hydrophors. The priestess of Artemis Kindyas at Bargylia had the title *loutrophoros,* bath carrier; and one hydrophor of Artemis Pythie was also *loutrophoros* of the Kabeiroi. The prevalence of these titles in cults of Artemis on the east Aegean coast, as

6. Anoigmoi: *DI* 382, 385 I. Another hydrophor may have at least defrayed expenses of the Anoigmoi: *DI* 331.10–11 (perhaps third century A.D.) is thus restored by Rehm: . . . *εἰς τὴν ἀγομένην τῶν ἀνυμ[φίων πανή]γυριν*, "for the conduct of the festival of the unwed." But, as Rehm said, no festival called Anymphia is attested elsewhere. The reading is *ἀνυγ[μῶν]*, as shown by Robert (1960: 467–469); i.e., at this time OI was pronounced the same as Y: this was the Anoigmoi festival.

7. *DI* 140, 264.5–7, 327.10–14. As mentioned above, a propolos of Artemis Pythie dedicated a statue at the spring before Artemis' "house": *DI* 118.

well as the several fountains in Artemis Pythie's temenos at Didyma, points to an association of the Asian Artemis with water.[8]

The title *hydrophoros* and the goddess's epithet Pythie/Pytheie tempt one to conjecture that the hydrophor was identical with Apollo's promantis and spoke the oracles of Apollo Didymeus. But surely there would be some notice of this service—a hint at least—in the hydrophors' honorary inscriptions. That she took part in Apollo's rites and honored all gods of Didyma is evident; and she held the highest office open to a woman at Didyma. She had much more prestige, apparently, than Apollo's promantis; no promantis has left us an inscription on her term of office and services rendered.[9]

Most hydrophors' inscriptions were composed by or for the women who held the office, but some are decrees of Miletos in their honor. They tend to be elaborate and to follow a regular form. A hydrophor's inscription is likely to begin with the title and hydrophor's name and her parents' (and sometimes grandparents') names in the genitive case with titles of offices held by them; then follows a statement on her service as hydrophor, perhaps with mention of special services and benefactions, concluding with the date formula expressed in terms of the incumbent stephanephor and prophet. For example, *DI* 343 (mid first century A.D.):

> Ὑδροφόρος Ἀρτέμι/δος Πυθίης Μαλία Ῥου/φεῖνα πατρὸς Λευκί/ου Μαλίου Σατορνίνου // προφήτου καὶ στεφα/νηφόρου καὶ τὰς ἐν παι/σὶ τετελεκότος λει/τουργίας πάσας, μητρὸς / Ἰουλίας Λουκίας, πάππου // Λευκίου Μαλίου Ῥηγεί/νου χειλιάρχου καὶ στεφα/νηφόρου καὶ παιδονόμου / καὶ γυμνασιάρχου πάν/των τῶν γυμνασίων, προ//γόνων καὶ συνγενῶν στε/φανηφόρων καὶ πάσαις / ἐντελέσι λειτουργίαις / τὴν πατρίδα κεκοσμηκό/των, τελέσασα τὴν ὑδροφο//ρίαν εὐαρέστως τοῖς πολεί/ταις, ὡς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πάσης / εὐχαρίστου τιμῆς διὰ ψηφισ/μάτων ἀξιωθῆναι· προφητεύ/οντος Μητροδώρου τοῦ Μητρο//δώρου, στεφανηφοροῦντος Εἰ/ρηναίου τοῦ Μενίσκου.
>
> Hydrophor of Artemis Pythie, Malia Rufina, daughter of Lucius Malius Satorninus, prophet and stephanephor and performing all liturgies among boys, and of Julia Lucia, granddaughter of Lucius Malius Re-

8. Artemis Patnia, etc.: *DI* 315.1–2 (3d cent. A.D.?); Dionysos Eligeus: *DI* 320.6–7. That Patnia = Patmia is evident from verses inscribed on Patmos in honor of a hydrophor of the Patmian Artemis (*Hermes* 55 [1920]: 185), where we find *en Patnôi*. Patmos was a Milesian island. See Robert 1960: 465–466. For hydrophors of Artemis elsewhere see Picard 1922: 189. *Loutrophoros*: *DI* 330 (Kabeiroi); *BCH* 13 (1889): 37–38 (Bargylia; both are late inscriptions).

9. See Gruppe 1906: 288 and Mayer 1932: 1659 for the suggestion that the hydrophor was Apollo's promantis.

> ginus, chiliarch, stephanephor, paidonomos, and gymnasiarch of all the gymnasiums, her ancestors and kinsmen being stephanephors and adorning the country with all privileged liturgies—having administered the hydrophoria to the citizens' satisfaction, so that she was commended by decrees for all her gracious service in office. Prophet, Metrodoros Metrodoros' son; stephanephor, Eirenaios Meniskos' son.

Some inscriptions begin with the date formula; then follow title, name, and the rest, usually in the order stated. A hydrophor also served as stephanephor (probably not in the same year); in the third century A.D., it seems, the honorary office whose incumbent was eponym of the Milesian year, held previously by men-citizens, gods, and Roman emperors, was now open to women. Sometimes the hydrophor was honored by the city with a statue (occasionally with more than one) or a painting (*eikôn graptê*) of her, several with a gilded (*chrysê*) statue.[10]

The hydrophor had assistants, but little is known about them. We have noticed that *propolos* (minister) of Artemis Pythie, Diodoros Olympos' son, who dedicated a statue to the goddess and composed a votive epigram (quoted above) inscribed on the base. Perhaps the propolos was always a man.[11]

Worship

Artemis Pythie received sacrifices and offerings, sometimes alone, sometimes in company with Apollo Didymeus and other deities. In solemnizing the treaty with Herakleia-under-Latmos (circa 180 B.C.) the prophet and comptroller, as noticed in chapter 4, made sacrifices to Apollo Didymeus, Artemis, and other deities of Miletos and Herakleia (*Milet* 1.3.150.19–22; see R12). From the third century B.C. there is a record of an offering to Artemis (*DI* 434.21). She also received a deerhead *palimpoton* (drinking horn) from Seleukos and Antiochos (*DI* 424.40–43). Sopolis Antigonos' son, prophet and superintendent of temple construction, gave her and Apollo Didymeus two marble vases (*DI* 105, 106); and the demos of the Milesians offered her statues of the Seleukid queens Apame and Phila and of the Ptolemaic princess Philotera (*DI* 113–115). These offerings among

10. Hydrophors' inscriptions: *DI* 307–388. Stephanephors: *Milet* 1.7.265; cf. *DI* 332.15–16. Statues: *DI* 328.10–11, 381.11–14; paintings: *DI* 312.27–28 (placed in the sanctuary of Artemis Pythie), 346.7–8; gilded statue: *DI* 322.1, 325.4–5, 343.11–16; 378.5–7.

11. *DI* 118, second century B.C. In *DI* 87.4 we find that a man has been *pytharchês*, which may have something to do with Artemis Pythie's cult; the title is expressed in participial form (*pytharchêsanta*), but the word occurs nowhere else.

others indicate the esteem in which Artemis Pythie was held among both Milesians and foreigners. Comptrollers' accounts in the third century B.C. list offerings of censers, bowls, cups, belts (*zônai*), necklaces, and gold ornaments (one at least an ornament for the goddess's statue) to Artemis.[12]

Some hydrophors who mention performance of sacrifices and libations add a third term, mysteries (*mystêria*); others mention only performance of mysteries. There is no indication anywhere of what the mysteries consisted in. There were initiations, as one inscription makes clear (*DI* 352.6–10): the hydrophor performed sacrifices, libations, and the initiations (*teletai*) of the mysteries for the goddess. Only this hydrophor associates the mysteries with Artemis; several say "for the gods." They may mean all the gods of Didyma or just Artemis and Apollo (with perhaps Zeus and Leto); but mysteries are mentioned only as an activity of the hydrophor, Artemis Pythie's priestess.[13]

In mysteries there was probably enacted a ritual drama, but we cannot be certain: the Eleusinian mysteries may not have included such a drama. But we may suppose at least a dramatic ritual. Herzog (1905) conjectured that the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Leto was represented in the Didymaean mysteries. One may object that since the union of Zeus and Leto at Didyma was given as a reason for consecrating the Milesian land as an adjunct of establishing Apollo Didymeus' quadrennial isopythian festival, whereas the mysteries were conducted by Artemis Pythie's hydrophor, it would seem to be rather an affair of Apollo's cult. The fact is that we have no more than the terms "mysteries" and *teletai;* we have no information at all on their meaning.

The Nature of Artemis Pythie

Artemis Pythie had two altars in Miletos, one dedicated to her and Apollo Didymeus, the other to her and the Emperor Hadrian. A stone recording a dedication to Artemis Pythie and Hadrian was

12. For the third-century offerings see *DI* 426.8–16, 427.12–14, 431.9–15, 432.15–19, 433.13–20, 439, 442.11–13, 445, 451.4–10. For the offering of a gold censer (*libanôtis*) to Apollo and Artemis in 178/7 see *DI* 463.25–29. See also *DI* 103, 112, 116, 117, for offerings to Artemis. In Artemis' sanctuary bones of sacrificial victims have been found—oxen, sheep, goats, swine; see Tuchelt 1984a: 198, 202, 229–230.

13. *DI* 312.24–25, 326.5–7, 329.5–6, 333.5–7, 352.6–10, 360.4–6, 373.6–9, 381.4–5, 382.3–6; *mystêria* restored in text of *DI* 316, 327.4. All these inscriptions are dated in the first three centuries A.D.

found on the Sacred Way between Miletos and Didyma, perhaps from an altar also. But outside Milesian territory an Artemis called Pythie is attested only at Klaros, where she had an altar in late antiquity.[14]

The epithet appears to be related to *Pythios,* epithet of the Delphic Apollo, although in his title the iota is short, whereas the Didymaean Artemis is called *Pytheiê* or *Pythīê,* the long iota of the latter form resulting from iotacization of *ei.* The vowel length is clear from the prevalence of *Pytheiê* in Hellenistic inscriptions; *Pythiê* first appears in the late first century B.C. and prevails thereafter, whereas *Pytheiê* is seldom found after the first century B.C. One would expect the feminine form of *Pythios* to be *Pythia* (or *Pythiê* with short iota), the name of Apollo's promantis at Delphi. Since we have no record of the epithet *Pytheiê* before 280 B.C., we may suppose with some hesitation that Artemis was given this title after the revival of Apollo's Oracle in 334/331 and the consequent reorganization of worship at Didyma, and perhaps she was so called as sister of the oracular Apollo, now established as Pythios among all Hellenes (see *DI* 159 I 1). Yet, as already made clear, we cannot suppose that through her hydrophor she had anything to do with the mantic sessions or the delivery of responses at Didyma.

Although there is little inscriptional evidence of Artemis' cult at Didyma before 330 B.C. she was, for the reasons stated above, probably present from the foundation of Didyma and surely established in Miletos in archaic and earlier times. Either Mycenaean or Ionian settlers may have brought the name to Miletos; it is found in Linear B documents. The Anatolian twin sister of Apollo may not have been called Artemis.

The inscriptions of Didyma give us no information on the character of Artemis Pythie. Milesian coins show a statue of Artemis wearing a long chiton and *diplois* (double cloak), holding a *patera* (sacrificial bowl) in her right hand and a bow in her left; a stag is seen at her feet, and on some coins she wears a modius (cylindrical headdress) and veil. The bow and stag indicate the huntress Artemis, but probably do no more than reflect the common conception of Artemis under the empire (in the reigns of Nero and Trajan). The modius is a symbol of fruitfulness worn by Artemis Ephesia and Hekate, but

14. Bericht 7: 7, *Milet* 1.7.302, *DI* 119. On Artemis Pythie at Klaros see L. Robert, "Fouilles de Claros 1958," *Türk Archeoloji Dergisi* 10 (1960): 59. On a fragment of a vase from Apollonia/Sozopolis in Thrace there is inscribed a dedication of Kaberis to Artemis Pytheia, *SEG* 3.557.

probably has no special meaning for the Artemis of Didyma. This figure may be a cult image, but not necessarily that of Artemis Pythie, for Artemis was worshiped in the city as Bûlaia, Bûlephoros, Chitone, and with other names. Artemis had a cult statue at Didyma: three inscriptions, already noticed—one from the third century B.C.—attest offerings of ornaments and a protecting barrier (*kankelloi*) for Artemis' image; the barrier apparently had a low relief of Leto and the twins.[15]

On the epigram inscribed on the statue base in her sanctuary Artemis Pythie is called *parthenos* (maiden) twice. In R45 Artemis is called *agroterê* (huntress), and in R46 *Lêtôia kourê* (Leto's daughter), and Branchos' verse calls her *Hekaerga*. These are purely poetic designations of Artemis and probably not meant to refer specifically to Artemis Pythie.[16]

OTHER CULTS OF ARTEMIS

Artemis Lykeia

An altar fragment found at the southeast corner of Apollo's temple has inscribed upon it the name Artemis Lykeia in the genitive case (*DI* 120, third century B.C.). The only other Artemis called Lykeia that we know about was worshiped at Troezen. According to the Troezenian cult myth Hippolytos founded there the temple of Artemis Lykeia, and Pausanias (2.31.4) is in doubt whether this Artemis was so called because Hippolytos had killed the wolves that plagued Troezen or because Artemis was called Lykeia by the Amazons, his mother's people. Lykeios is a frequent epithet of Apollo's; his cult at the Athenian Lykeion is well known, and he had an altar in Miletos under this title. Scholars debate whether Apollo Lykeios is the wolf god, the Lykian god, or god of light; if any is right it is likely to be one of the first two. Artemis was properly called Lykeia as sister of Apollo Lykeios.[17]

15. Milesian coins: *BMGC*, Ionia, pp. 198–200, nos. 150, 151, 155, 161, pl. xx.11. Cult image: *DI* 118.8–9, 370.18–21, 432.17–19 (271/0). For Artemis represented in groups of deities see Tuchelt 1973: pl. 37.2 and notes 23, 24 below.

16. *DI* 118.3, 8. At Melite in Phthia, Artemis was called *Aspalis Ameilêtê Hekaergê*, according to Nicander *ap.* Ant. Lib. 13.7.

17. On Apollo Lykeios see Farnell 1907: 113–123, and 358–360 for citations and extent of the cult; Michael Jameson, "Apollo Lykeios in Athens," *Archaiognosia* 1 (1980): 213–236.

Artemis/Hekate Phosphoros

A building inscription (third century B.C.) records the cutting and hewing of stones for a building called Phosphorion, which must be the temple of a deity called Phosphoros. This is the name of the morning star (also called Heosphoros), a male deity; but it is also an epithet of Artemis or Hekate, both of whom were worshiped at Didyma and Miletos. Hence Tuchelt and others believe that the deity of the Phosphorion was Artemis Phosphoros. In the city an altar was dedicated to Phosphoros in 78/7.[18]

Artemis Phosphoros had cults at Munychia in Attica and at Messene in Messenia, Hekate Phosphoros at Thera and at Lindos in Rhodes. The name means Lightbearer, but probably does not signify a moon goddess; rather, as Farnell believed, it is Artemis/ Hekate's name as the torch-bearing goddess who hunts or wanders at night.[19]

HEKATE

A fragmentary archaic inscription records an offering to Hekate, who is addressed as *despoina* (Mistress). The offering was an archaic seated figure of a woman, probably Hekate; it was found on the road from Didyma to Cape Monodendri (Poseidion). The Seleukid offerings of 288/7 included a *phialê aktinôtê* (bowl decorated with rays), weighing 113 drachmas, for Hekate. These documents are the only evidence of a cult of Hekate in Didyma itself, unless she is the goddess of the Phosphorion. Just outside the gate of Miletos on the Sacred Way there was a shrine of Hekate, where the Molpoi, beginning their march to Didyma, deposited a *gyllos* and made a libation of unmixed wine (*akrêtos*). In her we may see Hekate Propylaia: she is called Hekate Before the Gates (παρ' Ἑκάτην τὴν πρόσθεν πυλέων). As Propylaia, Hekate had a shrine, altar, or image before the gates of city, temple or house.[20]

18. *DI* 29.15–19; Tuchelt 1973: 37–38. In Miletos: *Milet* 1.3.172, fig. 45c. See *CIG* 3167 = *Ath. Mitt.* 9 (1884): 63. On male Phosphoros see *LM* 3:2443–2453; Fontenrose 1981: 102, 110.

19. *IG* 2².902.8 (Munychia); Paus. 4.31.10 (Messene); *IG* 12.3.421 (Thera); *LM* 3:2441–2443; *RE* 2.1401; Farnell 1896: 458–460.

20. *DI* 16.2–3, 424.36–37; *Milet* 1.3.133.25–27; Tuchelt 1970: 118, 209; Kraus 1960: 11–13. For other evidence of Hekate worship in Miletos see *Milet* 1.3.129; Hesych. Y 682 (Hekate Hypolampteira). Another archaic seated figure may be Hekate: *DI* 10; Tuchelt 1970: 118, 1973: 84.

Hekate and Artemis were often identified; they were either originally the same goddess or closely related. A goddess named Artemis may be aboriginal in Greece or an immigrant from Anatolia; the goddess Hekate has been considered Carian in origin, and so she may have been a deity of pre-Hellenic Miletos; but her Carian origin has recently been questioned. *Hekatê* is the feminine form of *Hekatos,* a name of Apollo (see R35) that appears in the Iliad (e.g., 7.83), probably the name of one of the gods who merged with others to become the Hellenic Apollo. It may be that the Carian twins were named Hekatos and Hekate.[21]

LETO

We have already noticed that in Didymaean myth Didyma was the scene of Zeus's sexual union with Leto when she conceived Apollo. Whenever that myth was first told, it is certain that Leto was Zeus's consort at Didyma from its earliest days. From the sixth century there survives a pair of seated figures in terracotta, male and female, identified as Zeus and Leto. In the fifth-century adyton there may have been an altar of Leto next to or joined to an altar of Zeus.[22]

The Seleukid offerings of 288/7 included a *phialê karyôtê* (bowl with nut-shaped boss) weighing 198 drachmas, three obols, for Leto. In the treaty with Herakleia-under-Latmos (180/79) sacrifices were made to Leto along with Apollo Didymeus, Artemis, and Zeus Soter; these are the four great deities of Didyma, the holy family. A votive offering to the Muses shows Leto with Zeus, Apollo, and Artemis. On an architrave beam of a structure that may have been a spring chamber was inscribed a dedication to Apollo Didymeus, Artemis Pythie, Leto, Zeus, Emperor Hadrian, and the Demos of the Milesians. Around 290 A.D. the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian dedi-

21. See *LM* 1:1885–1886; Farnell 1896: 506–507; Wilamowitz 1931: 169–177; Kraus 1960: 13–16, 20, 54; Nilsson 1967: 722–725. Notice Hekaerge in Branchos' incantation (p. 132). See Kraus 1960: 29–56 on Hekate in Asia Minor. Disputing Asian or Anatolian origin of Hekate are W. Berg, "Hecate: Greek or Anatolian?," *Numen* 2 (1974): 128–140 and Deborah Boedeker, "Hecate: A Transfunctional Goddess in the *Theogony*," *TAPhA* 113 (1983): 80–81; Boedeker wants to relate Hekate to Dumézil's Indo-European trifunctional theory, which, in my opinion at least, is very questionable.

22. Myth: see R10.9–10 and p. 109 above. Statues: Naumann-Tuchelt 1963: 57–62, pl. 23; Tuchelt 1970: 192, 1973: 84. Altars: Knackfuss 1941: 142–143, F640a, pl. 208; Hahland 1964: 162–165; Tuchelt 1973: 70; see p. 110 note 6 above.

cated at Didyma a bronze sculpture group of Zeus, Leto, and the twins. Finally, a third-century relief shows heads of Apollo Helios and Leto on coffers from the ceiling of Apollo's temple. It is evident from these sacrifices, offerings, and sculptural and relief representations that Leto was much honored in Didymaean worship until the end.[23]

Some Milesian coins of the imperial period, as already noticed, show Leto in flight, carrying the infant twins and looking back, probably at pursuing Python. This was probably meant to be Leto as Zeus's consort at Didyma in allusion to the myth of Apollo's conception there, although the type represents an event that occurred soon after Apollo's birth on Delos. It may be that Leto's flight from Python was enacted in a ritual drama at Didyma, perhaps as part of the mysteries which the hydrophor conducted.[24]

Leto was widely worshiped in western Asia Minor and the Aegean islands as mother of the twins, and held in special esteem at the great sanctuaries of Apollo and Artemis, as at Klaros, Ephesos, Xanthos, and Delos, as well as at Didyma and Miletos. She was a form of the Asian mother goddess and her name appears to be derived from Lykian *lada,* meaning "mother."[25]

ZEUS SOTER

Worship at Didyma

After Apollo and Artemis, Zeus was the most revered god in Didymaean worship, so much honored there that Callimachus could invoke Δαίμονες εὐυμνότατοι Φοῖβέ τε καὶ Ζεῦ Διδύμων γενάρχα, "Dei-

23. *DI* 424.34–36 (Seleukid offerings); *Milet* 1.3.150.19–22 (treaty; see R12); Tuchelt 1972: 89–90, 102–103, fig. 4 (Muses' offering, 2d cent. A.D.); *DI* 58 (architrave); *DI* 89, 90 (emperors' offering; see Rehm 1938); Knackfuss 1941: F459, pl. 171, and Tuchelt 1973: 88 (coffer relief).

24. *BMGC,* Ionia, pp. 200, 201, nos. 158, 164, pl. xxii.13. For a relief on the altar of Artemis Bûlaia in the city representing Leto's flight see Herzog 1905: 990; Fontenrose 1959: 24 note 16 (see also pp. 16–18). For another Milesian relief showing Leto with Apollo and Artemis full-grown see Farnell 1907: pl. xix.

25. Leto cults: *LM* 2:1966–1968; *RE* suppl. 5:555–558; Wilamowitz 1931: 324; Nilsson 1967: 500, 562. Ephesos: Strabo 14.1.20, 639–640; Alkiphron Maiandrios *ap.* Ath. 1.31d; Steph. Byz. 373 Mein.; Picard 1922: 12, 13, 295, 300, 401, 525–526. Delos: Semos 396.10J *ap.* Ath. 14.614ab; Strabo 10.5.2, 485; Laidlaw 1933: 157–158. Klaros: Picard 1922: 49, 456, 548. *Lêtô* from *lada*: *RE* suppl. 5:571–572; Wilamowitz 1903: 583 note 3; W. M. Ramsay, "The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia," *JHS* 4 (1883): 376.

ties much celebrated in hymns, Phoibos and Zeus, ancestors [*or* founders, rulers] of Didyma." And, as we have seen, the name Didyma was sometimes understood to commemorate the association of Apollo and Zeus on that site. The principal cult of Zeus at Didyma was that of Zeus Soter (Savior), who had a sanctuary (*hieron,* temenos) within Apollo's temenos.[26]

This is the Zeus Didymaios to whom Nicander refers in his *Aitolika:* Ἐν τῇ ἱεροποιίῃ τοῦ Διδυμαίου Διὸς κισσοῦ σπονδοποιέονται πετάλοισι, ὅθεν τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐκπώματα κισσύβια φωνέεται, "In the ritual of Zeus Didymaios they make libations with ivy leaves, whence the ancient cups are called *kissybia*." Only here is Zeus given the epithet *Didymaios*. Nicander means the Didymaean Zeus (as indeed his word order and use of the article suggest), i.e., Zeus Soter; but for many years, relying on this passage, scholars assumed that a Zeus called Didymaios had his own cult at Didyma. In my article, "Zeus Didymaeus," published many years ago, I showed the error in this assumption and need not elaborate the argument here.[27]

Among their offerings in 288/7 the Seleukids sent a horn weighing 173 drachmas, three obols, inscribed to Zeus Soter. In the treaty of 180/79 with Herakleia-under-Latmos, Zeus Soter is joined with Apollo Didymeus, Artemis, Leto, and Athena as recipient of sacrifices made by the prophet and comptroller; the confirming oath was sworn in the names of Apollo Didymeus, Hestia Bûlaia, Zeus, Athena, and the other gods; and the Zeus named here must be the Zeus Soter mentioned in the provision for sacrifices. In 17/6 Zeus Soter's Boegia festival was renewed (or at least the office of boegos); in an inscribed decision of *synedroi* (commissioners) provision was made for a stele to be placed in the *hieron* of Zeus Soter and inscribed each succeeding year with the names of incumbent boegoi. In the dedicatory inscription on the architrave of a structure (perhaps a spring chamber, mentioned above) made in Hadrian's time, the Zeus who is joined with Apollo Didymeus, Artemis Pythie, and Leto is surely Zeus Soter, the Zeus of the holy family of Didyma.[28]

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26. Callim. 229 Pf.; see also Ter. Maur. *Metr.* 1885–1887; EM 272; Steph. Byz. 229 Mein., who defined Didyma as a place and Oracle consecrated to Zeus and Apollo. On Zeus's sanctuary see *DI* 199 I.13–14 (*hieron*); this is probably not the temenos of Zeus mentioned in *DI* 486.29 and Hermann 1980: 225.5–7. See pp. 149–51 below on *temenizontes*.

27. Nicander 271/2.2J *ap.* Ath. 11.477b, quoted also by Macrob. *Sat.* 5.21.12; Eust. *Od.* 9.346, 1632. See Fontenrose 1932. For the earlier view see Nilsson 1906: 32; Gruppe 1906: 287; Farnell 1896: 48, 1907: 227; Cook 1925: 316–318.

28. In order of presentation, *DI* 424.43–45; *Milet* 1.3.150.19–22 (see R12), 112–114; *DI* 199 I; *DI* 58. The name Zeus Soter in the dative case is restored in *Milet* 1.3.144A.9–10.

The manner of making libations to Zeus at Didyma, as Nicander reports it, is unclear. He says no more than that Zeus's worshipers made libations with leaves of ivy. Were ivy leaves dipped in wine and shaken out over the earth? Or were cups made of ivy leaves? Or did the libations consist of ivy leaves perhaps first put in the bowl or cup and then poured out with the wine? Certainly his words do not mean that Zeus's worshipers wore ivy wreaths, as Farnell interpreted them (see note 27), nor do they appear to mean that the cups were wreathed with ivy; and surely Nicander cannot mean that the wooden cups called *kissybia* were employed, since he says that the cups got their name from the rite performed in Zeus's worship. From this scanty information Farnell concluded that the Zeus of Didyma was a fertility and vegetation god related to the Cretan Zeus. But it is only the presence of ivy leaves that suggests such a character for Zeus Soter. It appears to be a unique practice in Zeus-worship, from which we can conclude nothing except that it was done.

Friedrich Bilabel believed that Apollo Didymeus succeeded an aboriginal god Branchos at Didyma who became known as Zeus Branchos, a partner in the Oracle at Didyma. He relied upon the evidence for Zeus Didymaios (notes 26, 27), the Branchos myth, and Lactantius Placidus' gloss: Branchiadae qui Jovem Branchum colunt, "Branchiads who worship Jove [Zeus] Branchus." In Lactantius' comment on *Thebaid* 3.479 these words are separated by several lines from his earlier remarks on Branchos (there intervene statements on *Zôomachon* and the Oracle of Ammon). Furthermore it is a gloss on Lactantius' reading of Terentianus Maurus' verses, which he has quoted in his earlier remarks:

> Necnon et memini pedibus quater his repetitis
> hymnum Battiadem Phoebo cantasse Jovique
> pastorem Branchum . . .

> I also recall that herdsman Branchus sang a Battiad [i.e., Callimachean] hymn to Phoebus and Jove by repeating these feet four times . . .
> [*Metr.* 1885–1887]

But for the manuscript reading *Battiadem* Lactantius has *Branchiadae,* agreeing with *Phoebo* and perhaps *Jovi* too, i.e., "to Branchiad Phoebus and Jove." In his gloss Lactantius interprets this dative singular as though it were nominative plural. Hence, it seems to me, Lactantius' Jupiter Branchus results from the commentator's confusion and corresponds to nothing in Didymaean worship. Bilabel's Zeus Branchos

would mean that from the archaic period the aboriginal god was considered to be both father and son of Apollo.[29]

The Boegia Festival

In 200/199 B.C. Eudemos, a Milesian philanthropist, endowed a school for boys, as noticed in earlier chapters. A Milesian decree in honor of Eudemos contains the following direction in accordance with the terms of the endowment:

> οἱ παιδονόμοι πεμπέτω/σαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Διδυμεῖ βοῦν ὡς κάλλιστον ἔν τε τῷ πενθετηρι/κῶι τοῖς Διδυμείοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔτεσι τοῖς Βοιηγίοις.
>
> The paidonomoi [school trustees] shall conduct the most excellent ox available to Apollo Didymeus at the Didymeia every fourth year and at the *Boêgia* in the other years.
>
> [*Milet* 1.3.145.69–71]

The procession should consist (as noticed in chapter IV) of the paidonomoi, selected boys, their supervisors, Eudemos, and (after Eudemos' death) the eldest of his descendants. Reaching the altar they would sacrifice the ox and apportion the meat to the boys and everyone in the procession.

The ox was sacrificed at the Boegia in the years between quadrennial celebrations of the Didymeia because Apollo's great festival was no longer celebrated every year. The Boegia was a festival of Zeus Soter, as we learn from the Didymaean inscription of renewal (*DI* 199 I); the stone on which it was inscribed has unfortunately been lost, but rather imperfect copies had been made by Charles Cockerell and Philippe Le Bas in the first half of the nineteenth century. As far as can be gathered with some certainty from the text, the *synedroi* had assented to a proposal of Epinikos Epinikos' son to have the names of boegoi (ox drivers) inscribed upon a stele to be placed in the sanctuary of Zeus Soter. This measure was taken to encourage Milesian citizens to undertake the office of boegos, since nobody had done so for a long time. Following the decree is a very fragmentary list of annual boegoi beginning with Epinikos himself in 16/5.[30]

29. Bilabel 1921: 84–88; he also thought that the Branchidai served Zeus Branchos, the Euangelidai Apollo Didymeus. See Fontenrose 1932: 254–255.

30. See Haussoullier 1898; Cook 1940: 563–570; Fontenrose 1944; F. W. Schehl, "On the Epinicus Inscription from Didyma," *AJA* 58 (1954): 13–26. Schehl dates the inscription to 39/8, restoring the name Apollonios Apollonios' son, also known as Stratonikos, in line 1 of the visible text and a preceding lost line. He reads, [. . . *ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου* Ἀπολ/λωνίου Ἀπολλωνί]ου τοῦ {ι} καὶ Στ[ρατονίκου . . .], "When Apollonios [etc.] was stephanephor." But 39/8

In *DI* 199 the priest is called *boêgos para Dia* (oxdriver to Zeus). In two later inscriptions this appears as *boêgos para Dia Hyetion* (oxdriver to Zeus Hyetios), in which a certain Theon Theon's son, later prophet and stephanephor (14/5), held the position. He apparently derived the title from the rite of driving an ox or oxen to the altar or image of Zeus Hyetios, which probably stood in the *hieron* of Zeus Soter. It may have been a ritual of choosing a victim at the annual festival, which itself got its name from the ceremony. Haussoullier suggested that it was similar to the Koan rite of selecting a victim for sacrifice to Zeus Polieus, prescribed in a cult law: three Koan tribes brought a herd of cattle to Zeus's temenos, where each tribe in turn drove three oxen past a judges' table until a victim was selected. But we know from *DI* 199 only that there was a *thysia kai hierourgia,* a sacrifice and a sacred rite, the order of occurrence being reversed. The *hierourgia* may have been like the Koan ceremony; we have no way of knowing. It is probably to the Boegia that Hesychios refers in Διὸς βοῦς· Ὁ τῷ Διὶ ἄνετος βοῦς ὁ ἱερός· ἔστιν δὲ ἑορτὴ Μιλησίων, "Zeus's ox: The sacred ox released to Zeus; it is a festival of the Milesians." The verbal adjective *anetos* ordinarily means "set free from

precedes Epinikos' term as Boegos (16/5) by 23 years. Cockerell's copy shows only the letters ΟΥΤΟΥΙΚΑΙΣΤ. Rehm (*DI* 199 I) reads [Ἐπινικ.. Ἐπινίκ]ου τοῦ ⟨Ἡφ⟩αιστ[ίωνος ——], "Epinikos Epinikos' son Hephaistion's son." In 1944 I proposed [Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρ]ου τοῦ {ι} Καίσ⟨α⟩ρ[ος / θεοῦ υἱοῦ] . . ., "When Caesar son of the god (the Greek *theos* translates *Divus*, i.e., Julius Caesar) was stephanephor." I grant that for part I Schehl's and Rehm's restorations are better than mine, but I am reluctant to give up mine for the first line. The coincidence of Cockerell's letters with the entry in the stephanephor-list for 17/6, Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ υἱός (*Milet* 1.3.127.2: "Emperor Caesar son of the god [Divus]"), the year immediately preceding Epinikos' service as boegos (therefore the year of the decree), as shown in part II (first entry in the list, stephanephor Herakleides Euanthes' son, 16/5) is too striking to be easily dismissed. Louis Robert (*REG* 59 [1946/47]; *Bull. Epigr.* 349) called the article with the name *Kaisar* bizarre, and it is true that the article does not appear with this name elsewhere in inscriptions, at least in those of Miletos and Didyma. It is not, however, out of the question, since it is found so used in literary texts (see e.g. Plut. *Mor.* 949e), and the use of the article with proper names was common in ancient Greek (and is the rule in modern Greek except with the vocative). Now, however, I propose [Ἐπὶ στεφανη/φόρου Γαίου Ἰ]ου⟨λί⟩ου Καίσ⟨αρ⟩[ος θεοῦ υἱοῦ] . . . , "When Gaius Julius Caesar the god's son was stephanephor . . ." The stephanephor-list has *Gaios Kaisar* for the year 1/2 (*Milet* 1.3.127.22) meaning Augustus; this is a different way of recording Augustus' stephanephorship from the entry for 17/6; hence he could be referred to as *Gaios Ioulious Kaisar.* Cockerell's copy is very imperfect, hastily made, and the letters in line 1 were apparently difficult to see, probably weather-worn; Le Bas's copy has nothing for that line. On *DI* 199.18–30 (parts II–V) see Fontenrose 1942: 168–173, 1944: 303, where I attempted a restoration of the whole, although Le Bas's copy shows few letters for lines 23–26 (Cockerell shows nothing for 18–26). The first and fourth (or fifth?) entries show the names of boegoi (16/5 and 13/2 or 12/1?). The first and second at least are dated by the names of stephanephors for 16–14. Some of the remaining entries may be dated by prophets rather than by stephanephors.

work"; if the sacrificial victim is meant here, the meaning must be "consecrated to" or "allowed to."[31]

Several comptrollers' accounts of the period from about 225 to 40 B.C. have an entry, φιάλη [name in genitive] βοηγίᾳ νικήσαντος, "bowl of [i.e., given by] N. winner in Boegia"; the name may be placed first. Haussoullier supposed that this victor was the man chosen boegos for the year, having driven the ox chosen for sacrifice. This seems very unlikely: citizens were reluctant to undertake the office, presumably expensive; it would be difficult enough to find one willing man, much more to find enough men to enter a contest, in which each would have to provide one or more oxen for the competition. More likely the festival's main event was an athletic contest called *boêgia*. Since the word is in the dative case it must be the name of a contest of some kind; a festival name is always in the accusative in reference to victors. In any case victors in the *boêgia* offered bowls (*phialai*) to Apollo Didymeus, and victory in the contest was not the way in which the boegos was chosen. Since these victors' records antedate the period preceding 17/6 when nobody was willing to take the office of boegos, it may be that the contest was not included in the later festival.[32]

The Cult of Zeus Soter

The Savior Zeus was widely worshiped in all parts of the Hellenic world. He had an altar in the Delphinion of Miletos; thus he was worshiped beside Apollo Delphinios in the city as beside Apollo Didymeus in Didyma. He was likewise much honored in Milesian colonies. At Olbia he was looked upon as savior from the perils of war, receiving thank-offerings for the city's peace and safety. In Tauric Chersonesos a wall was dedicated to Zeus Soter for the stability of the city. In Pantikapaion he received a thank-offering for victory. He appears on coins of Kyzikos and in Kyzikene inscriptions. In Delphi, about 275 B.C., shortly after the Gauls had been driven from Greece, the Amphiktyons instituted the Soteria, an annual festival at first, which became a quadrennial agonistic festival in 246/5, in honor of

31. Theon as boegos: *DI* 262, 263. Koan cult law: *ICos* 37 = *SIG* 1025 = *Abh. Akad. Berlin* (1928): 6.6–7. See Hesych. Δ 1923. See Haussoullier 1898: 155–157; Fontenrose 1944: 293–296. The boegos was surely not the actual driver of the oxen, but the priest in charge of the sacred rites.

32. *DI* 447.9–10, 468.9–10, 471, 477; the name of the contest is restored in *DI* 452.8 and 469.8. See Haussoullier 1898: 155–158; Fontenrose 1944: 294, 295–296. It is noteworthy that in the Eudemos decree the festival is called *Boiêgia*, neuter plural, as though there were several contests so named. In the entries recording the victors' offerings it is called *Boêgia*, feminine singular, with initial *Bo-* instead of *Boi-*.

Zeus Soter and Apollo Pythios, so that in Delphi too Zeus Soter was associated with the oracular Apollo.[33]

Zeus Soter was the protector of cities, guardian of their welfare, especially in times of war and pestilence; he was credited with the victories that cities won over their enemies. It was sometimes in thanksgiving for a victory that a sanctuary of Zeus Soter was founded, as when the Amphiktyons thus celebrated victory over the Gauls. At Didyma, however, this was not likely to have been the case; the gods of Didyma were collectively called Soteres, and Savior was the epithet of other Didymaean deities, as will be observed in the next chapter.

OTHER CULTS OF ZEUS

Zeus Hyetios

Zeus Soter's priest, we have seen, was called *boêgos para Dia Hyetion*. Apparently an altar or image (or both) of Zeus Hyetios stood in Zeus Soter's sanctuary, marking the point to which oxen were driven in the *hierourgia* of the Boegia festival. Yet I do not think, as some scholars have thought, that Zeus Hyetios is identical with Zeus Soter. It is rare that the god of a single shrine has two cult appellations, although he may be addressed reverentially or poetically with other epithets than his cult title, as we have observed in the worship of Apollo Didymeus. There is, it is true, the Zeus Soter of Athens, also called Eleutherios, both being apparently his cult titles; but such instances are seldom found. The epithet Hyetios, moreover, indicates a different character from that of Soter. So it seems to me that at Didyma, for whatever reason, Zeus Hyetios was given a place in Zeus Soter's temenos and had something to do with the Boegia ritual, perhaps incidentally.[34]

Zeus Hyetios is the rainy Zeus, as his title indicates; he is Zeus the sender of rain, in which character he is also known as Zeus Ombrios. The cult of Zeus called Hyetios was fairly widespread in the Hellenic

33. *Milet* 1.3.130. Milesian colonies: *IOSPE* 1.12, 91, 92, 202; *CIRB* 36A.4; *Ath. Mitt.* 29 (1904): 301; Head 1887: 454. Delphic Soteria: *FD* 3.1.481–483 (see H35); Georges Nachtergael, *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sôtêria de Delphes* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1977), 209–382, 401–495. For the cult of Zeus Soter elsewhere see Paus. 2.20.6, 31.10; 3.23.10, 4.31.6, 34.6; 5.5.1, 7.23.9, 8.9.2, 30.10; *IG* 2^2.410.18, 448.69–70, 1291.22–23; Aristoph. *Plut.* 1175, 1186–1190; Strabo 9.1.15, 396. See *LM* 4:1262–1271; Farnell 1896: 164–166.

34. *DI* 199 I, 262, 263. See Tuchelt 1973: 87. Zeus Soter = Eleutherios: Hesych. E2020; Schol. on Paus. 1.3.2.

world; for example, he was worshiped in Athens, Argos, Lebadeia, and Kos.[35]

Zeus Telesiûrgos

From perhaps the early first century A.D. comes a very fragmentary inscription (*DI* 130), the first line of which is restored thus: [Απόλλωνι Διδυμεῖ καὶ Διὶ Τελ]εσιουργῶι. It records a dedication to Apollo Didymeus and Zeus Telesiûrgos (if the restoration is correct) by a Milesian sculptor, a descendant of Paionios, of a sculpture of his own in Apollo's temenos. That Telesiûrgos is a name of Zeus is confirmed by two Milesian inscriptions of cult statutes (*Milet* 1.7.203b.12–13, 204a.13–14), in one of which a priest of the Demos of the Romans, in the other a priest of Asklepios, entered upon his office after being consecrated to or confirmed in office by Zeus Telesiûrgos (τελεσθεὶς Διὶ Τελεσιουργῷ). This seems to mean a cult in the city. Rehm and Latte interpret the quoted phrase to mean a Milesian practice of having every newly appointed priest present himself to Zeus Telesiûrgos at his shrine or altar to be inaugurated in his priestly office. He is the god who τελετὴν ἐργάζεται, who works initiation or induction, who carries everyone through a stage of transition into a new status or office. The epithet has essentially the same meaning as Teleios: Hesychios has the entry, Τέλειος· Τελεσιουργός· ὁ Ζεὺς . . . , "Teleios: Telesiûrgos; Zeus . . ." It is probable that Zeus Telesiûrgos was established in Didyma as well as in Miletos for the induction of Didymaean priests into office.[36]

Although cults of Zeus Teleios were widespread, as Telesiûrgos he is found elsewhere only in Thasos (*IG* 12 suppl. 380).

Zeus Kataibates

DI 127 (second century A.D.) records a dedication, perhaps of an altar, to *Zeus Kataibatês*. This is Zeus the Descender, he who comes down in the lightning, equivalent to Zeus Keraunios. Zeus had altars in the city both as Kataibates and as Keraunios.[37]

35. See Alkiphron *Epist.* 2.33 (3.35) (Athens); Paus. 2.19.8 (Argos), 9.39.4 (Lebadeia); *ICos* 382 = *SIG* 1107. See Farnell 1896: 44, 147–148; Cook 1940: 561–570.

36. Rehm, *Milet* 1.7, p. 298; K. Latte, "Ζεὺς Τελεσιουργός" *Philologus* 85 (1930): 225–227; Hesych. T403.

37. *DI* p. 124; *Milet* 1.7.278.

Zeus Hypsistos

Two late inscriptions (perhaps third century A.D.) show dedications, one of a small altar, to Zeus Hypsistos (Zeus Highest). The cult is also attested in the city.[38]

Zeus Hypsistos was much worshiped over the whole Hellenic world. At first the epithet meant "on the heights, the mountain top," marking his worship on hills and mountains; later it meant Zeus as ruler in the sky, and finally Zeus as the supreme god.

Other Evidence of Zeus Worship

In *DI* 537, an epitaph in verse, a chorus of eighty women sang to Apollo at the great ox-sacrifice (*bouthysia*) and, following mention of the eighty women, a chorus of men is mentioned (10–11):

δὶς δὲ οἱ ἐξῆ[ρξαν πολυώνυ]μοι [ὀ]ρχησ[τῆρες]
Κτήσιον ἀρχ[αῖωι μελπέ]μεναι λογίωι.

And twice the renowned choristers struck up a song of Ktesios in ancient verse.

Ktesios must be Zeus Ktesios, protector of wealth and property, an epithet under which Zeus was worshiped in Athens and other cities. But whether this means a cult of Zeus Ktesios at Didyma or a cult in the city or is simply a reverential name of Zeus in song cannot be said.

In *DI* 484 (third century B.C.) the context of the words [τὸ]ν ἑρκεῖον θε[όν] is lost. It is apparently a reference to Zeus Herkeios, guardian of the house and its enclosure. Athens and other cities had cults of Zeus Herkeios. But the evidence for a cult of Zeus Herkeios at Didyma is on the same footing as that for a cult of Zeus Ktesios.

A very late inscription (*DI* 588), which preserves only the first seven to ten letters of each of the first seven lines, has Ζεὺς Κρονίδ[ης] as the beginning of the second line. This is apparently the beginning of an hexameter verse. Zeus is frequently called Kronides, Kronos' son, in Greek verse from the Iliad on, but this patronymic is never a cult epithet. This is the only instance that we have in extant documents of a non-cultic epithet given to Zeus at Didyma, unless we count Callimachus' *Didymôn genarch[ês]* (229.1 Pf.).

38. *DI* 128, 129 (R26); *Ath. Mitt.* 18 (1893): 267; Bericht 3; *SBA* (1904): 87 notes 1, 2; Tuchelt 1973: 46.

We have already noticed relief sculptures of Zeus in company with Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, such as the Zeus head that was placed opposite to Apollo's on the capital of the southeast corner column of the Didymeion. There is also a Zeus head on a ceiling coffer of Apollo's temple (Tuchelt 1973: pl. 32).[39]

39. We should also notice a small altar dedicated in the second century B.C. probably to Zeus. In the inscription (*DI* 126) the god's name is missing, but apparently only Zeus's name in the dative case (*Dii*) will fit the space in which it was written. See Tuchelt 1973: 45 (27). This may have been meant for Zeus Soter, but is not the altar of his sanctuary.

VIII

Minor Cults of Didyma

GODS

Poseidon

In R14, an oracle of the late second century B.C., Apollo Didymeus directs the foundation of a cult of Poseidon Asphaleos; the direction begins, "Propitiate Asphaleos Poseidon with sacrifices." The response was inscribed upon an altar found in the retaining wall in front of Apollo's temple. The altar was dedicated to Asphaleos Soter Poseidon Megistos by Andronikos Potamon's son, who had been comptroller and for ten years superintendent of temple construction. Along with the dedication Andronikos made a sacrifice of oxen to Poseidon.

Poseidon Asphaleos is the Securer, originally the god who brings safety from earthquakes, since it is Poseidon who shakes the earth (*Enosichthôn, Seisichthôn*); in later times Asphaleos probably also referred to him as god of the sea, who brings sailors and voyagers home safely from the perils of the sea. In fact, *Asphaleos* means about the same thing as *Sôtêr,* an epithet that Andronikos also gives Poseidon (perhaps as one of the *Theoi Sôtêres,* the Savior Gods of Didyma) along with *Megistos* (Greatest). Apollo's oracle, in ordering sacrifice to Poseidon Asphaleos, recognizes just this savior character of the god, directing the Milesians to pray to him to keep the city free from danger. In this direction there seems to be an allusion to impending

dangers, perhaps from earthquakes, but this is not clear (see *Comment* on R14).[1]

A late inscription (*DI* 133, third century A.D.) shows a dedication to Poseidon *Seisichthôn,* Earth-Shaker. This title is the equivalent of *Enosichthôn* and *Enosigaios,* found in the Homeric epics and frequently thereafter as poetic appellations of Poseidon, but apparently not used in cult, as *Seisichthôn* was.[2]

An archaic altar stands on the very corner of Cape Poseidion at the southwest point of the Milesian peninsula, about seven kilometers (4 1/3 miles) southwest of Didyma. No doubt this is the altar of Poseidon that Strabo mentions as situated on Cape Poseidion, founded, he says, by Neileus; its position on a cape called Poseidion would in any case make it fairly certain that this was an altar dedicated to Poseidon, although it is without inscription. Armin von Gerkan dated it in the first half of the sixth century B.C., and not earlier, since the whole construction of the altar platform is of marble.[3]

The altar stood on a large platform entered on the west side by steps that ascended from a lower platform, the west side of which is set on the very shoreline. The structure, which is richly ornamented, has a total length of about nineteen meters; the altar platform is 11.5 meters long, ten meters wide; its total height including the altar is about three meters. The altar itself is about 2.9 meters in length, 1.3 meters in breadth, and 1.25 meters in height, with a top that measures 3.2 by 1.6 meters.[4]

An altar of these dimensions must have been the center of a significant cult of Poseidon. His cult epithet here may very well have been Helikonios. Under this title Poseidon was patron god of the Io-

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1. See Farnell 1907: 7–8. Cults of Poseidon Asphaleos, Athens: Aristoph. *Ach.* 682 and Schol. vet.; Kyzikos: *FD* 3.3.343 (H39); Rhodes: Head 1887: 642; Tralleis: *BCH* 5 (1881): 340 (H68); Tainaron: Schol. vet. on Aristoph. *Ach.* 509; cf. Strabo 1.3.16, 57.

2. Poseidon Seisichthon: Pind. *Isthm.* 1.52; Bakchyl. 18.21–22; Amm. Marc. 17.7.12; Aul. Gell. *NA* 2.28.1; worshiped at Tralleis: H68 (see note 1). Poseidon Enosichthon: Iliad 13.89; Macrob. *Sat.* 1.17.22 (joined with Asphalion). Poseidon Enosigaios: Iliad 9.183, 13.43; Amm. Marc. 17.7.12.

3. Altar: Strabo 14.1.3, 633; von Gerkan 1915 (24 for date). Cape Poseidion: Strabo 14.1.2, 632, 2.1, 651. Before 1922 the Cape was called Monodendri from the single large juniper tree that grew in the altar ruins; see von Gerkan 1915: pls. I–III. The tree is no longer there, I am told; now a lighthouse stands on the Cape. See Map 2. Although the Poseidon altar is not within the limits of Didyma, I am including in this work all cults of southern Milesia, as explained in the Preface.

4. See von Gerkan 1915: pls. VI, VIII, IX, XXIII, XXVII; for measurements pp. 5, 16–22. On the volute akroteria of the parapet see *IM* 30 (1980): 65–67 with fig. 8 and Beilage 6.1.

nian League; he had an altar at Panionion, the league's capital, where the Panionia festival was celebrated in his honor. According to Strabo, Neileus, leader of the Ionian migration, was reputed to be the founder of this altar. As Helikonios, Poseidon also had an altar in Milesian territory between the city and the spring called Biblis. According to Ionian tradition, Poseidon was called Helikonios because the Ionians had worshiped him in Achaian Helike, when they lived in Achaia; thence they carried the cult to Athens, and from Athens to Ionian Asia.[5]

Demeter and Kore

Two oracular responses spoken in the reign of Diocletian (R30, 31 = *DI* 504) concern altars of Demeter Karpophoros (Fruit=Bringer) and Soteira (Savioress) Kore. The prophet Damianos, having noticed that Soteira Kore, Apollo's most holy (*hagiôtatê*) sister, his own ancestral goddess (*patrôos thea*), had no altar in the altar circle or precinct of all gods (*pantheos peribômismos,* see below under *Savior Gods*), asked Apollo for permission to place an altar for her beside the altar of Demeter Karpophoros, her mother, which was in the circle. Apollo granted this request. Then Damianos asked Apollo to ordain the auspicious (*euphêmos*) and hymnal (*hymnikê*) epithet of Soteira Kore. The god replied that it should be Meilichos (Gentle). In his second question Damianos called Demeter *sebasmiôtatê Karpotrophos* (most reverend Fruit=Nourisher), and Apollo in his reply called her Mother Deo.

Apparently at her altar in Didyma, Demeter was called either Karpophoros or Karpotrophos; the names are similar in sound and have essentially the same meaning. Kore, we notice, had no altar in Didyma until nearly the end of the third century A.D. (unless it was outside the altar circle), but since she was Damianos' ancestral goddess, she probably had a cult in Miletos (see *Comment* on R31). When Demeter was given an altar in Didyma cannot be said, but it is reasonable to suppose that she had been worshiped there for several centuries, inasmuch as she was a popular deity among Ionians and all Hellenes.

A recently published inscription (Herrmann 1980: 231), dated in 47/6, concerns a meeting of the *temenitai* of Apollo Didymeus and Demeter Karpophoros. Only the first few lines of the inscription re-

5. Herod. 1.148; Diod. 15.49.1; Strabo 8.7.2, 384, 14.1.20, 639; Paus. 7.24.5; G. Kleiner, P. Hommel, W. Müller-Wiener, *Panionion und Melie* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967), 22–28. The altar of Poseidon ordered in R32 (*Milet* 1.6.191) was situated in the city of Miletos.

main, from which we learn little more than that these men had a meeting. It is not known where the stone fragment on which these lines were inscribed was found; it was apparently not at Didyma. Hence the inscription may refer to a temenos in or near the city of Miletos. As Herrmann (1980: 233 note 35) points out, it is unlikely that this temenos could have enclosed Demeter Karpophoros' altar in the *peribômismos* of Apollo Didymeus' sanctuary; that would be impossible in a space where many altars were grouped. As shown below (under *Aphrodite*), *temenitai* were members of an association that oversaw the care of their own temenos, which was not a public cult-site. Hence their temenos of Apollo Didymeus and Demeter Karpophoros could have been situated near Apollo's temenos at Didyma.

The epithet of Karpophoros or Karpotrophos is appropriate to Demeter's fundamental character as fertility goddess who germinates and ripens the crops and brings the harvest. As Karpophoros, Demeter was worshiped in Athens, Tegea, Ephesos, Pessinûs, and several other cities. But I find no other instance of Demeter Karpotrophos.[6]

Robert reports an inscription from Miletos, now in the Smyrna museum, which records a votive offering to Demeter Argasis. This appears to be the Demeter worshiped in the deme Argaseis, of which Didyma was part. Near Didyma were found four boundary stones of a temenos of Argaseis; this seems to be an enclosure for citizens of the deme, but we have no information on its purpose. Responses R22 and R23 (*DI* 496) were spoken to a priestess of Demeter Thesmophoros: R23 prescribes honors to Demeter and her daughter, who in the text are called Deo and Koure Deois, and Demeter is praised for introducing the cultivation of wheat and turning mankind away from an all-meat diet. This was no doubt the priestess of the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros in the city. R46, a priamel and probably not authentic, refers to Demeter (Deo) in general as the goddess of crops.[7]

Although the Didymaean deities were collectively called Soteres (Saviors), Damianos gives the title to Kore in his question about her altar. Since *Sôteira* precedes, it is likely that this was the name of Da-

6. Athens: *IG* 2^2.4587; Paus. 1.22.3 mentions a *hieron* of Ge Karpophoros and Demeter Chloe. Ephesos: *SIG* 820.3–5 (joined with Demeter Thesmophoros). Tegea: Paus. 8.53.7. Pessinûs: *CIG* 4082. See *RE* 4:2758.

7. Demeter Argasis: Robert 1959: 673, 1960: pl. 19.2; Herrmann 1980: 232. Boundary stones: *DI* 66–69. Demeter Thesmophoros in Miletos: Aristodemos of Nysa *ap.* Parth. 8.1; Didymos *ap.* Steph. Byz. 452 Mein. For a representation of Demeter and Kore with the great gods of Didyma in a Didymaean votive relief see Tuchelt 1972: 98, 100, 102, 104, figs. 1–4 (see below under *Muses*).

mianos' ancestral goddess. Her epithet in worship, by Apollo's order, is to be Meilichos. It is not likely that she was so called euphemistically; the Kore of these responses is plainly Demeter's daughter, not Persephone as queen of the dead. Nowhere else have I found *Meilichos* as an epithet of Kore; but all gods were called *meilichoi* as well-disposed beings, and Zeus was widely worshiped as Meilichos.

Aphrodite

There are three, possibly four, dedications to Aphrodite found at Didyma (*DI* 122–125) on stones that perhaps came from altars; at least they indicate the presence of altars of Aphrodite. The goddess's name in the genitive case is inscribed on one without epithet (*DI* 122). Another is a dedication to Aphrodite Urania (Heavenly, *DI* 123), another to Aphrodite Katallakteria (Reconciler, *DI* 124). These are Hellenistic dedications. A still earlier (fourth-century) inscription (*DI* 125) records a woman's votive offering to Chrysanthe (Gold Flower), which may be a name of Aphrodite.

Aphrodite was surely not called Urania because of any association with the sky. According to Farnell, she was so called as the eastern goddess. Herodotos gives the name Aphrodite Urania to Astarte at Askalon, where, he says, she had her most ancient sanctuary. But though Aphrodite probably had a Levantine origin, this may not explain the epithet Urania. In some cities Aphrodite Urania was associated with Aphrodite Pandemos. The contrast between Urania and Pandemos, representing spiritual as opposed to vulgar love, is purely Platonic; they were much the same in Hellenic worship.[8]

Aphrodite called Katallakteria seems to be unknown outside of Didyma. She is apparently the Aphrodite who reconciles quarreling lovers, or perhaps who brings harmony to state or community.

A difficult inscription (*DI* 486, dated 188/7), badly damaged, in which many words are lost or nearly undecipherable, concerns the association (*koinon*) of *temenizontes* for Aphrodite and Apollo Didymeus; that is, an association for founding a temenos for these deities. In a resolution the association honored Athenagoras Paionios' son, the member most active in promoting the foundation of this temenos. He had apparently purchased three plots of land for the pur-

8. Herod. 1.105.2–3; see 1.131.3: Arabs, Assyrians, and Persians make sacrifices to Urania; 4.59.1: the Scythians worship Aphrodite Urania; Lucian *Syr. D.* 32: associated with Syrian goddess at Hierapolis; *id. DMer.* 7.1. Association with Pandemos: Paus. 8.32.2 (Megalopolis), 9.16.3 (Thebes); Plato *Symp.* 181a–c. See Farnell 1896: 658–664.

pose. The stone was found in the village of Ieronda, and the phrase "in Didyma" occurs in an unreadable context. But one plot, it appears, was situated by the *hieron emporion,* the sacred emporium, and the buildings adjacent to it. Since emporia were generally situated at harbors, Tuchelt supposes that the emporion mentioned was at the harbor of Panormos. Another plot purchased was adjacent, presumably, to that situated by the emporion. The specifications are unclear; there is mention of a *hermê* (exit?; defined as *exodos* in an interpolation in Hesychios), and an enclosure (*peribolos*) that the temenos or something in it reached to or bounded. It also bordered on a temenos of Zeus. The part of this plot (or perhaps of the whole temenos) under the open sky was to be planted. Such is the state of the inscription that we cannot tell where the plots (presumably contiguous) were situated, and so cannot know the locale of the temenos.[9]

In naming Apollo Didymeus beside Aphrodite the temenos-founders, in Rehm's view, made him an honorary associate, much as he was associated with Demeter Karpophoros in a temenos whose locale is also unknown. One would therefore expect these cult-sites to be situated within Apollo's great temenos, his name added in recognition of his overlordship. But, as we have seen, the locale must have been elsewhere. The problem is further complicated by an inscription (dated 47/6) found in 1900 north of the Bûleuterion (Council House) in Miletos, but only recently published (Herrmann 1980: 225). It is the first part of a list of *temenizontes,* dated around 100 B.C., for Apollo, Zeus, and Aphrodite. No more information is given than the names of several members of the association and a dating with the name of the group's *chrysonomos* (treasurer-bursar). This may be the same association as that of *DI* 486, in which we learn that the temenos of Aphrodite and Apollo Didymeus bordered on a temenos of Zeus, the care of which may have been taken over by the Aphrodite-Apollo *temenizontes*. But since the stone was found at Miletos, it is unlikely that the same temenos is meant.

These associations of *temenizontes* and *temenitai* were not public bodies, but private groups who established *temenê* apparently for their own worship of deities, or perhaps for other purposes, such as cemeteries for their members. Herrmann (1980) reports four inscriptions of *temenitai* in which no deity is named in the visible text (one was found at the entrance to a cemetery). In the two inscriptions

9. See Rehm, *DI* pp. 286–287; Robert 1959: 669; Tuchelt 1973: 39–40, 50–51; Hermann 1980: 223–226. For the meaning of *hermê*, feminine noun, see Hesych. E5947.

concerning *temenê* of Aphrodite, which are the earliest, the association members are called *temenizontes,* properly those who establish a temenos; in the others they are called *temenitai,* those who oversee the care of a temenos. It may be that after a temenos had been founded the founders became caretakers, and their designation was changed from *temenizontes* to *temenitai.* In each association, it appears, the chief officer was called *chrysonomos.* Except for *DI* 486 all the inscriptions mentioned were found on or near the site of Miletos. We may conclude that the *temenizontes* of *DI* 486 established their own temenos for Aphrodite and Apollo Didymeus, probably outside of the great sanctuary of Didyma, possibly at Panormos. It was a different cult of Aphrodite from any attested at the Didymaean sanctuary.

In the late period (probably third century A.D.) Pytheas Lysimachos' son of Aphrodisias offered a statue of his ancestral goddess (*τὴν πάτριον θεόν*) to Apollo Didymeus, referring to Aphrodite, patron goddess of his city. The base on which the inscription is cut was found in the adyton, but it is unlikely that the statue was originally placed there; the stone may have been moved there in post-pagan times. A medallion on a bowl dated in the second century B.C. shows Aphrodite accompanied by Erotes. It is probably a head of Aphrodite that appears with heads of Athena and Artemis on a ceiling coffer from Apollo's temple.[10]

In R25 Aphrodite, called Aphrogeneia (Foam-born) and Kypris (Cyprian), is contrasted with Athena, virgin goddess, as a deity who promotes marriage. The fragmentary *DI* 497 (RB6) alludes to her as *Paphia eratoplokamos* (lovely-tressed Paphian, if the restoration is correct). Aphrodite, it appears, received much honor at Didyma from the third century B.C. at the latest.

Hermes Enkeladou

The only trace of Hermes worship in or near Didyma is the shrine or altar of Hermes of Enkelados (Enkelados' son? The inscription has *παρ' Ἑρμῆ Ἐνκελάδο* [*Milet* 1.3.133.29–30]; the second name is probably genitive, since datives of this declension are spelled with omega and iota in this inscription). There the Molpoi stopped for singing of paeans when they made their periodic procession from Miletos to Didyma. The shrine or altar was situated on the Didyma side of the

10. *DI* 92 (statue); L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (Paris, 1965): 209; Tuchelt 1971: 75, no. 199, pl. 12.4; 1973: 87, pl. 37.1.

hills. It was the first stop after the nymphs at the summit. Enkelados appears elsewhere only as the name of a giant (Apollodoros 1.6.2) and of a son of Aigyptos (Apollodoros 2.1.5). Neither is ever associated with Hermes.

Megaloi Theoi Kabeiroi

In about twenty inscriptions of the first three centuries A.D. we encounter the title *kôtarchês* or *kôtarchos,* not found anywhere else. Many prophets held the office of kotarch, often in the same year. In one inscription the prophet records the full title, kotarch of the Megaloi Theoi Kabeiroi, the Great Gods Kabeiroi. Occasionally the title is written in participial form, *kôtarchôn* or *kôtarchêsas,* formed on a verb *kôtarchein,* "to serve as kotarch," and the office is called *kôtarchia.* A woman who had been hydrophor of Artemis Pythie had the title *kôtarchis.* Another hydrophor was also lûtrophor (*loutrophoros*) of the Megaloi Theoi Kabeiroi. This was evidently a significant cult at Didyma: a priest or priestess called kotarch not only presided over it but also had subordinate ministers.[11]

The title appears not to be Hellenic. Hesychios defines the word κοίης as ἱερεὺς Καβείρων, ὁ καθαίρων φονέα· οἱ δὲ κόης, "*koiês:* a priest of the Kabeiroi, he who cleanses a murderer; some call it *koês.*" But *koiês/koês* is not Greek either. From Hesychios' definition we may infer that the title means "purifier," but we can have little confidence in such an inference. A letter of Caecina Paetus, proconsul of Asia (circa 85 A.D.), concerns the priest (*hiereus*) of the Theoi Sebastoi Kabeiroi in Miletos, who had apparently been denied the prerogatives that his predecessors had enjoyed, and whom the proconsul upheld, bidding the Milesian magistrates provide for the gods' sacrifices and sacred rites (*hierourgiai*), as had been the annual custom. The title *hiereus* that the proconsul gives the priest seems to indicate that a priest of the Kabeiroi was not called kotarch except at Didyma, but it may be that a Roman governor used the title familiar to him.[12]

According to the origin myth reported by Nikolaos of Damascus (52J), when Amphitres killed King Laodamas (Leodamas in Nikolaos' text), Laodamas' sons, kinsmen, and partisans took possession of Assesos in Milesian territory, where Amphitres' forces besieged

11. *DI* 84.3–4, 152.2–3, 240, 252.4, 256.5, 262, 263, 267, 270. 1–2, 279a.1–2, 281.4–5, 286.1–2, 287.15, 288.5, 301, 305.4, 361.4–5, 451.1–2; *kôtarchis*: *Milet* 1.7.265.17; *kôtarchia*: *DI* 182.20. Megaloi Theoi Kabeiroi: *DI* 252.4, 330; Kabeiroi named in a fragmentary line, *DI* 344.15.

12. Hesych. K3230; *Milet* 1.9.360. See *LM* 2:2535 for the suggestion that *kôtarchos* = *koitarchos*, who presides over a *lectisternium.*

them. In desperation they sent a messenger to an Oracle (not likely that Didyma is meant, since that would have been supposed to be under Amphitres' control) and received the reply that helpers would come to them from Phrygia to avenge the murder of Laodamas and to free the Milesians. One night two boys appeared under the walls of Assesos carrying a basket that held the *hiera* (sacred articles) of the Kabeiroi. They called themselves Tottes and Onnes, saying that at divine command they had come from Phrygia bringing *hiera* for the Milesians' gods. When admitted within the walls they gave the same message to the rebels' assembly, adding that they had come to avenge Laodamas' death, though they didn't know who he was, and that for success the Milesians should worship them with the sacrifices customary for them. The Milesians at once performed the sacred rites (*hierourgiai*) as instructed and marched out to battle, led by the two boys, who were carrying the *hiera*. Amphitres' army was routed as panic fear descended upon it. Thus the cult of the Kabeiroi was established in the Milesian state at Assesos, according to this story. Caecina Paetus' letter may refer to this cult or to a cult in the city.

We need not, I am sure, take seriously the origin myth's Phrygian derivation of the Milesian Kabeiroi cult. Attempts have been made to give the name Kabeiroi a Greek or Phrygian or other origin. But there can be no real doubt that the name is Semitic, derived from the root K=B=R, meaning "great." *Megaloi Theoi,* Great Gods, is an exact translation of *Kabeiroi* (*kabbîrîm* [*'êlîm*]). Phoenician traders, speakers of Canaanite, brought the cult of the Kabeiroi to Greece, where we find it established in Aegean islands (e.g., Samothrace, Lemnos, Delos), coastal cities (as Miletos), and Thebes.[13]

Caecina Paetus' letter and Nikolaos' narrative refer to *thysiai* and *hierourgiai,* sacrifices and sacred rites, in honor of the Kabeiroi. It may be that mysteries of the Kabeiroi were performed at Miletos or Didyma, as on Samothrace and elsewhere. Inscriptions of Samothrace refer only to Megaloi Theoi, but in literature the Samothracian gods are referred to as Kabeiroi. The cult was widespread, reaching Italy and Sicily in the west and Pontic lands in the north. The principal centers of Kabeiroi worship were Samothrace, Lemnos, Miletos, Didyma, and Thebes.[14]

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13. See Hebrew *kabbîrîm*, "mighty men," Job 34.24; also the related G-B-R as in *gibbôrîm*, "mighty men," "heroes," Genesis 6.4. Compare Arabic *Akbar*. "Mighty" is also the meaning of the common Semitic word for "god," *'el* (in Hebrew also *'lôah*, *'lôhîm*, Arabic *'allâh*). For other derivations see *RE* 10:1399–1401.

14. See *RE* 10:1401–1442. Samothrace: Herod. 2.51.2; *IG* 12.8.216, 227–232; Lemnos, Imbros, Troy: Strabo 10.3.21, 473; Delos: Laidlaw 1933: 160; Thebes: Paus. 4.1.7, 9.26.5–10.

In the Milesian legend there were two Kabeiroi named Tottes and Onnes. Elsewhere they were generally two in number, although three Kabeiroi are also reported; they were variously named, and were sometimes identified with Kûretes, Korybantes, and Dioskûroi.[15]

Leukothea

In the foundation myth of the Didymaean Oracle, as Conon (*Narr.* 33) tells it, Smikros fought with Eritharses' son over the swan that they had found and which transformed itself into the goddess Leukothea (the swan-woman is unnamed in Varro's version). Through the boys she told the Milesians to honor her with a boys' contest. Nothing is said elsewhere about a Didymaean or Milesian cult of Leukothea, and inscriptions show no dedications or offerings made to her. Yet we cannot ignore the testimony of the cult myth and must keep in mind that it is pure chance that some documents have been preserved and others have not. It is possible that the cult and games of Leukothea were entirely archaic at Didyma and did not survive the Persian destruction.

It is not surprising that Leukothea (White Goddess) was honored at Miletos and Didyma, since she was a great goddess of the Aegean coasts and islands. On the Greek peninsula she was identified with Kadmos' daughter Ino, the myth of whose apotheosis is well known. But that was not the only myth told about Leukothea. On Rhodes it was Halia (Sea Woman), sister of the Telchines, who became Leukothea. With Kapheira, Ocean's daughter, she reared the infant Poseidon. On Tenedos she was called either Leukothea or Hemithea (Demigoddess) and identified with the sister of Tenes, whom Achilles killed. Tenes was worshiped beside her as a marine god, the local variant of Palaimon. In another story, placed in Lydia, Leukothea was the mother of Paktolos (who became the river so named) and Demodike. On the Carian Chersonesos was told the myth of Staphylos and his three daughters—Molpadia, Parthenos, and Roio—each of whom became a form of the goddess Hemithea. At Kastabos in the Chersonesos, not far from Didyma, was situated the great healing shrine of Hemithea/Molpadia.[16]

15. See Strabo 10.3.19–21, 472–473; Paus. 1.31.1, 8.21.4; Farnell 1921: 186–187.

16. On the myths and cults of Leukothea/Hemithea see Fontenrose 1948: 126–129, 132–150, 161–165; 1951: 125–132, 145–148. See also Farnell 1921: 35–47; J. M. Cook, W. H. Plommer, *The Sanctuary of Hemithea at Kastabos* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1966). Principal sources: Odyssey 5.333–353; Diod. 4.47.1, 5.55, 62; Apollod. 1.9.1–2, 3.4.3, epit. 3.23–25; Ovid *Met.* 4.416–562, *Fasti* 3.851–876, 6.485–500; Paus. 1.44.7–8, 10.14.1–3; Hyg. *Fab.*

Leukothea was the mother goddess among seafaring peoples, she who promotes the fertility of the sea (see Fontenrose 1951 : 147–148). Palaimon as her young male companion corresponds to Attis or Adonis. Hence she was properly an object of worship at Miletos, an important seaport. But she was more than a marine goddess. Ino-Leukothea was also a deity of healing, oracles, and agriculture, especially the vine. Hence she was worshiped at inland sites such as Thebes. Didyma is but two and a half miles from the nearest shore and so hardly an inland settlement, but even if it were much farther from the sea, the presence there of a Leukothea cult would not be strange.

Asklepios

A fragment of a small round late-Hellenistic altar found at Didyma has the inscription Ἀσκληπίου Σωτῆρος, "of Asklepios Savior" (*DI* 121). This altar probably belonged to the *peribômismos,* and the healing god has the characteristic epithet of Didymaean gods, although he was frequently called Soter elsewhere. Asklepios was also worshiped in Miletos, where he had a sanctuary and a statue. The cult of the healer Asklepios was spread over the whole Hellenic world after 400 B.C.[17]

The altar (*bômos*) is the kind employed for sacrifice to heavenly gods. As everywhere else Asklepios was worshiped as a god in Didyma (as the epithet Soter indicates), not as a hero, although in myth he was represented as a mortal man who died and was then apotheosized. Several towns claimed tombs of Asklepios, but there is no real evidence of his worship as a hero. Leukothea and Herakles were also always worshiped as gods; hence they and Asklepios are included among gods in this chapter.[18]

Telesphorion

Two votive offerings were made in the late imperial period to a deity called Telesphorion. The name is found elsewhere only in an inscription of unknown provenience, now in Verona, in which Telesphorion received an offering in company with the Pergamene Asklepios and Hygieia (Health); the three are called Savior Gods. In the

1–4, *Astr.* 2.20; ps.-Plut. *Fluv.* 7.2. Notice Kapheira, Halia/Leukothea's sister nurse (Diod. 5.55.1); this is Kabeira/Kabeiro/Kabeiris, mother of the Kabeiroi (*LM* 2:823); the Telchines too are demonic beings related to the Kabeiroi.

17. *Milet* 1.7.204 and 1.9, pp. 97–98, pl. 25. On Asklepios' cult see Edelstein 1945: 91–125, 181–213; Farnell 1921: 234–279.

18. On tombs of Asklepios see Edelstein 1945: 50; Farnell 1921: 239–240.

city of Miletos a statue of Telesphoros stood beside that of Asklepios at the Faustina Baths. It is apparent that the Didymaean deity called Telesphorion is identical with the Asklepian daimon elsewhere called Telesphoros, the divinity who carries an ailing person through to recovery and health.[19]

Herakles

Since Herakles was reputed to have built an altar at Didyma made from victims' blood (Pausanias 5.13.11), no doubt the altar of Apollo Didymeus, he must have received some recognition in Didymaean worship, although we have no evidence of it. Response R3 apparently prescribes laws for a cult of Herakles in the city; the inscription was found on the site of the Delphinion. It appears that at this shrine women could not take part in Herakles' rites; and the eating of greens was forbidden. In R19 Apollo bids the theatre-builders make sacrifice to Athena and valiant (*alkimos*) Herakles, an instruction which probably refers to Herakles in the city.

Kûretes and Korybantes

An altar dated to the third century B.C., inscribed Κουρήτων, "of the Kûretes," was found before the east front of the Didymeion. Three inscriptions refer to priestesses of the Kûretes and another to a priest of the Kûretes (all third century A.D. or thereabouts). In each instance the priestess held the office of hydrophor also, and in two she is given the full title of priestess of the Kûretes for life (*hiereia dia biou*). It is possible that these women presided over the cult of the Kûretes in the city.[20]

One of the priestesses, Aelia Aurelia Herais, grandmother of the victor honored in *DI* 182 (third century A.D.), is mentioned in another inscription as grandmother of the same person as prophet, and is said to be (or to have been) hydrophor and priestess of the Korybantes for life (*DI* 243.11–12). It looks as though the same deities were meant, but we cannot be sure; and whether or not they are to be

19. *DI* 135, 136 = Tuchelt 1973: pl. 26; *Milet* 1.9, pp. 97–98, pl. 25. Verona inscription: *CIG* 6753. Telesphorion appears as a man's name in *CIG* 3540 = *IPerg* 8.2, p. 236; L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes* (Paris: de Boccard, 1937), 63. On Telesphoros see Ludwig Schenck, *De Telesphoro deo* (Göttingen, 1888); *LM* 5:309–320; *RE* 5A:387–390. Paus. 2.11.7 identifies Euamerion, a god associated with Asklepios and Alexanor at Titane, with Telesphoros Pergamenos and the Epidaurian Akesis (Healing); one gathers that Telesphoros is originally a Pergamene deity.

20. *DI* 131 (altar), 182.9–12, 277.9, 370.3, 16 (in both lines Κουρήτων is restored), 388. For Kûretes in Miletos see Bericht 7: 19.

distinguished from the Kûretes, this may be a reference to a cult in the city.

The Kûretes and Korybantes were fertility spirits, often confused or identified in antiquity. The Kûretes were Cretan in origin, associated with Rea and the infant Zeus; the Korybantes were Anatolian, attached to the Asian Great Mother of the Gods, Kybele, and her consort Attis. Both were sometimes identified with Kabeiroi, Telchines, and Daktyls. Kûretes were worshiped in many cities, and the worship of the Korybantes spread with the cult of Kybele and Attis after 600 B.C.[21]

Nymphs

The statue which Artemis' *propolos,* Diodoros Olympos' son, dedicated at the spring before Artemis Pythie's "house" (*DI* 118) was probably that of a nymph, who, Rehm thought, was represented holding a vase from which she poured water (see p. 125). In any event the nymphs had a shrine or at least an altar on the Sacred Way. It was situated in a meadow on the ridge of the range of hills that lie between Miletos and Didyma. There the Molpoi made one of their stops for singing of paeans when they made their procession to Didyma (*Milet* 1.3.133.29).

In the first epigram inscribed on the spring chamber of Festus about 287 A.D. the eleventh line reads *νύμφαις φίλη γὰρ μαντική*, "for the mantic art is dear to the nymphs"; this follows a reference to *nymphaioi roai,* "nymphean flows," in line 9. In *DI* 497 (= RB6) mention is made of hamadryads and naiads, described as mountain-dwelling (*ouresiphoitoi*), but the context is lost, as also in another very fragmentary inscription, in which nymphs are mentioned (in the dative case). More significant than these is an archaic relief fragment showing Pan and nymphs (lower bodies only are now visible). Between them stands a stone altar; but it is doubtful whether this repre-

21. Strabo 10.3.7, 466; 11, 468; 12–13, 469–470; Diod. 5.49.2–3; Paus. 4.33.1, 5.7.6, 8.37.6; Lucian *Salt.* 8. The most informative source on Kûretes, Korybantes, Daktyls, Kabeiroi, and similar daimones is Strabo 10.3.7–23, 466–474. The earliest mention of Kûretes occurs in Hes. frag. 123 MW *ap.* Strab. 10.3.19, 471; they are joined to mountain nymphs and satyrs and called *theoi philopaigmones orchêstêres,* gods fond of play, dancers; for Korybantes the earliest are Eur. *Bakch.* 120–125 (Kûretes and Korybantes in train of Dionysos); Aristoph. *Lys.* 558, *Ekkl.* 1069; verb *korybantizein* in *Wasps* 119. For cult sites see Strabo 14.1.20, 640 (Kûretes in Ephesos); Paus. 3.24.5 (uncertain whether deities worshiped at Brasiai are Korybantes or Dioskûroi), 4.33.1 (Kûretes at Mount Ithome in Messenia), 8.37.6 (both at Akakesion), 10.38.7 (Anaktes of Amphissa variously identified as Kûretes, Kabeiroi, Dioskûroi); *LSAM* 23 (Korybantes at Erythrai).

sents an actual altar of Pan and nymphs in archaic Didyma. Yet it is evidence that they were recognized there as honor-worthy deities. The figure of Pan recalls the probably unauthentic R45, in which Apollo Didymeus as reputed speaker informs the inquirers that Pan, called Dionysos' servant, caused the death of nine peasants by bringing panic terror upon them—but he charmed the nymphs with his music.[22]

Muses

The Istanbul Museum has a relief sculpture from Didyma which shows Apollo Didymeus, Leto, Artemis, Zeus, Demeter, Kore, and nymphs in the upper register; and nine Muses, Pan (?), and worshipers beside an altar in the lower register. It is dated in the third or second century B.C. It is ostensibly an offering to the Muses; the worshipers are making sacrifice to them and to the gods of Didyma. This relief seems to be evidence for a cult of the Muses at Didyma. Thus the Muses appear beside Apollo Didymeus at Didyma as they appear beside Apollo Pythios at Delphi.[23]

Agathe Tyche

Among the Seleukid offerings to Didymaean deities in 288/7 was a *phialê karyôtê*, a bowl with nut-shaped bosses, weighing 247 drachmas, for Agathe Tyche, Good Luck (*DI* 424.31–32). This, it seems to me, is evidence that the goddess was established at Didyma soon after the Alexandrian revival, if not earlier. She is surely the goddess Tyche of R27, from which it appears that up to the early third century A.D. her altar was situated in the section of the temenos called *paradeisos* (park). Buildings had been constructed around it so that its visibility was reduced, and many visitors did not see it. Therefore the comptroller Hermias asked the god for permission to move Tyche's altar from the *paradeisos* to the altar circle, *peribômismos* (see below under *Savior Gods*).

22. *DI* 159 I.11, 497.11–12 (RB6), 589. Relief: Klaus Tuchelt, "Pan und Pankult in Kleinasien," *IM* 19/20 (1969/70): 223–224, pl. 42.2. See Tuchelt 1972: 103–104, figs. 1–3, 5, for a votive relief (described under *Muses*) showing nymphs in the company of the great gods of Didyma; another figure appears to be Pan with a goat; *ibid.* 101, figs. 1, 2, 10; Bericht 7: 38. On the nymphs' shrine in the city see J. Hülsen, *Das Nymphaeum* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1919).

23. Tuchelt 1972. The museum at Izmir has the torso of a Muse figure from Didyma: Tuchelt 1972: 104. For Delphi see Plut. *Mor.* 402cd. With the Didymaean frieze compare that of Archelaos of Priene showing a company of Muses and gods present at the deification of Homer, A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, Vol. 3 (London, 1904), 244 no. 2191.

Angelos

In an inscription of perhaps the first century A.D. Antigonos Apollonios' son and Antigonos Antigonos' son, father and son, both comptrollers, include among their benefactions that they had constructed the enclosure of Angelos at their own expense: *οἰκοδομήσας δὲ / καὶ τὸν περίβολον τῆς Ἀγγέ/λου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων*. Angelos is a goddess or daimoness, as the feminine article indicates. According to Hesychios, Artemis was called Angelos at Syracuse. The Syracusan Sophron, writer of mimes, told a story in which Angelos was a daughter of Zeus and Hera who became an underworld spirit; but she is not identified with Artemis or Hekate in the notice of the story preserved by the Scholiast on Theokritos, who is, however, commenting on a mention of Hekate in Theokritos' *Pharmakeutriai*. It seems to me that the two Antigonoi would have identified Angelos as Artemis or Hekate if she were the deity for whom they made the enclosure.[24]

In Sophron's tale the Kabeiroi purified Angelos in the Acherusian Lake, and it may be that at Didyma she had something to do with the cult of the Kabeiroi. We may also recall Euangelos of the foundation myth: Euangelos and Angelos may have been associated as divine messengers of Apollo's Oracle.

Soteira

The Seleukid offerings of 288/7 included a *psyktêr barbarikos lithokollos,* barbaric wine-cooler set with gems, inscribed "of Soteira," seven *karya* (nut-shaped bosses) of which were missing, weighing 372 drachmas (*DI* 424.47–50). Soteira, Savioress, is found as an epithet of several goddesses, e.g., Artemis, Hekate, and Kore. Artemis and Hekate received offerings from the Seleukids on this occasion under their own names, and Soteira Kore's cult did not appear at Didyma until nearly six centuries later. Tuchelt suggests Isis, perhaps because Osiris appears several lines earlier as receiver of an offering. It seems to me that a goddess called Soteira was worshiped at Didyma; it is a fitting name for one of the Didymaean Savior Gods. It is conceivable that the Seleukids included offerings to deities that had no cult at Didyma, but a cult of every other deity that they honored at this time, except Osiris, is attested.

24. *DI* 406.8–10. See Hesych. A391; Sophron *ap.* Schol. vet. *in* Theocr. 2.12.

Dynamis

The second stop of the Molpoi in their periodic procession from Miletos to Didyma was at an altar or shrine of Dynamis (Power: *Milet* 1.3.133.29). This was situated on the Sacred Way between the Miletos gate and the meadow at the summit of the hills where the nymphs were worshiped. Dynamis is a deified abstraction, who, so far as I can find in extent records, had no cult elsewhere.

Egyptian Gods

The Seleukid offerings of 288/7 included a *phialê karyôtê* weighing 190 drachmas, inscribed "of Osiris." Thus Osiris is included among the Savior Gods of Didyma. About 150 years later Diodoros Nikias' son made a dedication at Didyma to Serapis, Isis, and Anubis. In R20 Apollo tells a consultant to pray to Apollo, Sarapis *arrêtos* (ineffable), and Nemesis for success in his sport. In R21 the inquirer asks whether his way of fulfilling his vow to Serapis will please the god. These responses may very well mean Serapis at Didyma, although he was also worshiped in Miletos.[25]

The cult of Isis with Osiris as her consort spread through the Aegean islands (they were well established on Delos) and coasts and over the Greek peninsula in the Hellenistic period and eventually over the whole Roman Empire in the imperial period, when Isis' mysteries became popular. Serapis was essentially a creation of the Ptolemies, a combination of Osiris and Apis. Anubis appears less often as an object of Greek worship; he was a god of the dead, "once one of the mortuary rivals of Osiris," as Breasted has expressed it.[26]

Demos of the Milesians

Mentioned in the last chapter is a dedicatory inscription (*DI* 58) upon what may be the façade of a spring chamber; it was dedicated to Apollo Didymeus, Artemis Pythie, Leto, Zeus, Emperor Hadrian,

25. *DI* 134 (dedication), 424.33–34 (Seleukid offering). See *Milet* 1.7.200, 205 (R20, 21), 283 (in which Serapis is identified with Helios). R46, probably unauthentic, refers to Pharian Isis searching for Osiris beside the Nile.

26. On the cults of Egyptian gods in Greece see Thomas A. Brady, *The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks (330–30 B.C.)* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1935); Franz Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1929), 69–94; Ladislaus Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapicae* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969); Françoise Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin orientale de la Méditerranée*, vol. 3, *Le culte d'Isis en Asie Mineure* (Leiden: Brill, 1973). Delos: Laidlaw 1933: 128–129, 218–226 *passim*; P. Roussel, *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos* (Paris, 1916). See Plut. *Mor.* 984ab (Q227); Apul. *Met.* 11. Anubis: see J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religious Thought in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Harper, 1959), 259.

and the Demos of the Milesians. Here the Demos, joined with the holy family of Didyma and the god-emperor, appears to be regarded as a deity, and the impression is confirmed not only by the cult of Demos in other Greek cities, but also by several Milesian inscriptions in which the Demos is joined with Apollo Didymeus in the dedications of altars and the theatre. Artemis Pythie, Hestia Bûlaia, or an emperor is added in each instance.[27]

The Savior Gods

The Seleukid letter of 288/7 (*DI* 424) to the demos and council of the Milesians begins with Seleukos' statement, "We have sent Polianthes to the sanctuary of Apollo in Didyma; he conveys the large lampstand [*lychnia*] and gold and silver cups [*potêria*] inscribed for dedication to the Savior Gods [*Theoi Sôtêres*]" (11–16). After instructions concerning the offerings and sacrifices, the cups (vases and bowls) are listed; they include offerings, as already noticed, to (in order of occurrence) Agathe Tyche, Osiris, Leto, Hekate, Apollo, Artemis, Zeus Soter, and Soteira (31–51). Next to last, just before Soteira, an offering to the Savior Gods as a group is listed: they received an *oinochoê* (wine pitcher or decanter) weighing 386 drachmas (45–46). It is evident from the text that the Savior Gods are all the gods of Didyma, and that all eight named deities are among them.

Soter/Soteira was an epithet of five Didymaean deities, as we have noticed—Zeus, Poseidon, Kore, Asklepios, and Apollo Didymeus himself at a small altar in Didyma and at his altars in the city; beside them was the goddess Soteira. Soter may very well have been added at times to the names of other deities of Didyma in prayers, hymns, and dedications.[28]

Some dedications were made just to the gods (θεοῖς, τοῖς θεοῖς) without an added *Sôtêres*. An Achaian, Philon Diodoros' son, gave a statue of his daughter to the gods. Lucius Junius Rufus made an offering to all gods. The family of Iason, including his daughter Theogenis, provided wells, fountains, and conduits for the gods of the sanctuary at their own expense, as noticed in the last chapter.[29]

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27. Bericht 7: 7; *Milet* 1.7.299; Haussoullier 1902: 260. In *DI* 111 Apollo Didymeus and the *hiera boulê* (sacred council) are recipients of something; Rehm considers this to be not a *Weihung* but a *Stiftungsurkunde;* the god and council are recipients of a donation. There is no record of a deified *boulê*, though it might be called sacred.

28. See R14, 30, 31; *DI* 121, *Milet* 1.7.279–281. See *CIG* 6753, referred to under *Telesphorion*, wherein Asklepios, Hygieia, and Telesphorion are called Savior Gods.

29. See *DI* 138, 139, 327.12–14; also 140.2 concerning Iason and his family's dedication, where "to the gods" is in the restoration. The intent of "to the gods" in *DI* 127 is unclear: did Phanias make a dedication to the gods or was he *eusebês* (pious) to the gods?

In a graffito of the early imperial period (*DI* 512) appear the words [*ν*]*εικη τῶν θεῶν ἐπη*[*κό*]*ων*, "victory of the listening gods," probably meaning the gods who hear one's prayers; but what their victory would be is obscure. In the late imperial period a man made an offering to *theos epêkoos* (listening god, *DI* 137); Rehm conjectures that this means Apollo or Serapis, who has this epithet in *Milet* 1.7.200.

In the inscriptions that quote R30 and R31 (third century A.D.) we find the term *peribômismos,* noticed several times in foregoing pages. The prophet Damianos, we have observed, noticing the absence of an altar of Soteira Kore in Apollo's *pantheos peribômismos,* asked that the god allow him to place an altar dedicated to her beside her mother Demeter Karpophoros' altar. The locale so called was meant for altars of all gods, as the adjective *pantheos* shows. Apollo replied that Soteira Kore should have *timê peribômis,* "peribomid honor," that is, a place in the *peribômismos.* In his question in R31 Damianos referred to the holy *peribômismos.* In R27, perhaps earlier in the third century A.D., the comptroller Hermias asked the god to allow the transfer of Tyche's altar from the *paradeisos* to a place among the altars of the other gods: he uses a verb *peribômizesthai,* which means "to place in the *peribômismos.*"

The term *peribômismos* has been interpreted as altar precinct in which were placed altars of all gods (presumably gods worshiped at Didyma), or a group or circle of altars around Apollo's altar before the Didymeion, or the several altars of gods in Apollo's sanctuary. As Tuchelt shows, there was not enough room in front of the Didymeion between *krêpidôma* and terrace wall for such an assembly of altars. On the other hand we cannot suppose that the term means all altars in the Didymaean temenos. For in his question (R27) Hermias says, "Since the altar of Tyche in your sanctuary is enclosed in the so-called *paradeisos*" (lines 2–5); the altar is therefore already in Apollo's temenos, and so is the *paradeisos.* In the three oracular inscriptions the *peribômismos* appears to be an assembly of altars in one part of the temenos; the term, then, does not include the altars in the sanctuaries of other deities within the bounds of the great temenos of Didyma. The name suggests a circular arrangement, and so we may call it an altar circle. It may be that the altars were grouped around Apollo's temple, inside or outside the temple enclosure. The name appears only in third-century documents, and so we could suppose that the altar circle received this name only at a late date. But most of the altars could not have been late constructions; no doubt the altar circle had been there for centuries, added to on occasion, as with the altars of Tyche and

Soteira Kore. In this group of altars, we may suppose, were those mentioned in preceding pages dedicated to particular deities, as those of Artemis Lykeia, Poseidon Asphaleos Soter, Aphrodite Urania, Aphrodite Katallakteria, Asklepios, Zeus Hypsistos, and the Kûretes, besides those of Demeter, Kore, and Tyche. Several of the inscriptions that identify these altars were found near Apollo's temple.[30]

Recognition of Other Deities

A few other gods and daimones were represented in art works at Didyma or were mentioned in responses and inscriptions, but we do not have any evidence of cult for them in the sense of altar or sanctuary.

We have noticed the Gorgon heads in the front entablature of the temple (fig. 11); also found was a full-sized archaic figure of a Gorgon. A. L. Frothingham believed that these sculptures had religious significance: Medusa was frequently associated with Apollo as a form of Artemis or the Great Mother. It is unlikely, however, that these Gorgon figures are anything but decorative features of the temple, probably apotropaic in meaning.[31]

A relief group of the early fourth century B.C., already mentioned, shows Leto, Apollo, and Artemis with a female figure labeled *Kourotrophos* (Child Nurse) on the left. This is an epithet of several goddesses, including Artemis, Hekate, Leto, Ge, Demeter, and Aphrodite. Artemis and Leto are separately represented in the group, and Tuchelt suggests that Kourotrophos is Hekate. Kourotrophos is also found as an independent deity. But there is no evidence of a cult of Kourotrophos or of Hekate Kourotrophos at Didyma.[32]

Athena received sacrifices along with Apollo Didymeus, Artemis, Leto, and Zeus Soter in ratification of the treaty with Herakleia-under-Latmos, but she was included as patron goddess of Herakleia (*Milet* 1.3.150.19–22; see R12). R19, directing the theatre builders to pray to Athena (Pallas Tritogeneia) and Herakles, and R25, concerning the appointment of a priestess of Athena Polias, refer to the prominent cult of Athena Polias in Miletos. The reference to Pallas *eupêlêx* (well-helmeted) in R46 is to Athena as goddess of war, as the

30. See Tuchelt 1971: 97–105 (Günther's discussion of the Tyche inscription); Tuchelt 1973: 47–49; Otto Weinreich, "Agnostos Theos," *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 34 (1913): 2959.

31. A. L. Frothingham, "Medusa, Apollo, and the Great Mother," *AJA* 15 (1911): 349–377 (355–356 on Didyma). Archaic figure: Pontremoli–Haussoullier 1904: 179, pl. 20.

32. Theodora Hadzistelliou-Price, "Double and Multiple Representations in Greek Art and Religious Thought," *JHS* 91 (1971): 51, 59, pl. 4.8; Tuchelt 1973: 37, 84. On Kourotrophos see *LM* 2:1628–1633. Hekate Kourotrophos: Hes. *Theog.* 450–452. Kourotrophos without other name: ps.-Herod. *Vit. Hom.* 30.

reference to Hera *eukelados* (sweet-sounding, melodious) is to Hera as goddess of air, or rather as the air itself (*hêra* = *aêr*) in accordance with a late rationalistic interpretation of deities as physical forces or elements. R24 directs the inquirer to a cult of Hera in the city.

R20 bids the consultant pray to Nemesis along with Apollo and Serapis for good performance in his sport; but the direction probably does not mean that Nemesis had a cult at Didyma or at Miletos either.

The author of the treatise on astrology attributed to Lucian (*Astr.* 23) expresses his opinion that Didyma received its name from the heavenly twins, i.e., the Dioskûroi. This is obviously an attempt to give the name an astrological interpretation, but the author may have been able to justify it by pointing to a cult of the twins at Didyma. In fact the twins were sometimes identified or associated with the Kabeiroi, as on Delos (Laidlaw 1933: 160, 221).

The only appearance of Dionysos at Didyma is as a terracotta herm head of the first century B.C. From the same period appears a terracotta seated figure of Kybele, the Great Mother; and a much later marble image of Kybele was found in the north building of Artemis' sanctuary.[33]

HEROES

Branchos

According to Lactantius Placidus, Branchos was *et ipse peritissimus futurorum deus,* "and himself a god very skilled in the future." The statement seems to result from his interpretation of Statius *Thebaid* 3.478–479, *patrioque aequalis honori / Branchus,* "Branchus, equal to his father's honor." He also says that the Branchiadae are those who worship Jove Branchus; but, as pointed out in the last chapter, this is a confused statement. All other evidence about Branchos shows him to have been considered a mortal man, son of Apollo and a mortal woman, who received worship after his death (or disappearance: *numquam comparuit,* "he was seen nowhere"). He was eponymous ancestor of the Branchidai, and eponymous ancestors were invariably worshiped as heroes.[34]

Branchos had a temple at Didyma, at any rate down to 494 B.C.

33. Tuchelt 1971: 86, nos. 282, 283, 293, pls. 22.3–4, 23.1, 3; 1973: 86; 1984a: 212, pl. 57.1. See R46 for reference to Rea = Kybele.

34. Lact. Plac. *Theb.* 3.479, 8.198 with Varro *ad loc.* See Farnell 1921: 54. Since Branchos vanished according to the foundation myth, there may have been no tomb at Didyma alleged to be his, but there could have been a cenotaph.

Varro, as quoted by Lactantius Placidus, said: templum ei factum est quod Branchiadon nominatur, et Apollini at filio pariter consecrata sunt templa quae . . . Philesia nuncupantur, "A temple which is called Branchiadon was made for him, and for both Apollo and his son temples called Philesia were constructed." The temple called Branchiadon appears to be different from the member of the Philesia consecrated to Branchos. In fact, the former is apparently the Didymeion; for *Branchiadon* can only be the genitive plural of *Branchiadai* (it cannot be taken as neuter singular): it is the temple of the Branchiadai (i.e., Branchidai). The temple of Branchos and that of Apollo Philesios, as already noticed, formed a pair or were a double temple called Philesia.[35]

We have no record of an offering or dedication made to Branchos, and it may be that his cult did not survive the Persian destruction of Didyma in 494 B.C. In a first-century A.D. epigram (*DI* 219), however, a prophet refers to *temenos Branchou,* but means the temenos of Apollo Didymeus; his use of the term seems to indicate that Branchos was remembered, and probably still honored, at Didyma. Furthermore our knowledge of his myth and cult comes from Callimachus, Varro, Strabo, and later writers, who seem to be writing about a hero still recognized at Didyma.

Euangelos

We have no direct evidence of a cult of Euangelos, but there can be little doubt that in the archaic period, if not later, he received heroic honors as eponymous ancestor of the Euangelidai. Farnell associated him with Euangelos/Pixodaros, worshiped at Ephesos; but there seems to be little reason to believe that the two have a common origin.[36]

Neileus

Pausanias (7.2.6) tells us that the tomb of Neileus was situated on the left side of the road to Didyma (Sacred Way) not far from the city gates. As city founder Neileus received heroic honors.

Kleochos

According to Leandros, cited by Clement of Alexandria, Kleochos, father of Areia, who was mother (by Apollo) of the founder

35. Varro *loc. cit.* See Stat. *Theb.* 8.198, where Branchos is called *intonsus* (unshorn, indicating his early youth); Quint. Smyrn. 1.283.

36. Conon *Narr.* 44; Farnell 1921: 54–55, citing Vitr. *Arch.* 10.2.15.

Miletos, was buried in the Didymeion. This probably means in Didyma (surely there would be no tomb in the Didymeion), but it is evidence of heroic honors for Kleochos, a hero worshiped at his tomb. Since he is surely a legendary figure, his supposed tomb may have been a cenotaph, or the person buried there may have been identified with Kleochos. Kleochos, a Cretan in the legend of the founder Miletos, was probably thus honored at Didyma because in the story of Miletos' birth Areia exposed the child, and Kleochos saved him and reared him.[37]

Chares and His Companions

In the sixth century B.C. several large seated figures were placed along the Sacred Way outside the entrance to Apollo's temenos. They may now be seen in the British Museum, impressive figures of archaic sculpture. They are known as the Chares group, and indeed were so called in fifth-century Miletos, as the Molpoi inscription shows.

Chares is the only identifiable figure; the inscription on his chair reads, Χαρῆς εἰμι ὁ Κλέσιος Τειχιόσης ἀρχὸς, / ἄγαλμα τῶ Ἀπόλλωνος, "I am Chares Klesios' son, ruler of Teichiûssa, statue for Apollo." Other inscriptions also indicate that these figures were dedicated to Apollo; some are described as *dekatê,* a tithe. They were probably not meant to be objects of worship at first; but impressive figures of this kind were likely to attract reverent viewers, who might initiate cult by offering incense before them. In any case the Chares group was one point at which the Molpoi stopped for singing of hymns when they walked over the Sacred Way from Miletos to Didyma in their periodic processions. Chares and his fellows received the same honor as Hekate, Dynamis, the nymphs, and Hermes. Since this stop must have first been made after the deaths of Chares and the others, we may consider their honors to be heroic.[38]

37. Tomb: Leandros 492.10J *ap.* Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 3.45, 39P; *id. ap.* Eus. *PE* 2.6.6, 71d; Arnob. *Adv. gent.* 6.6. Myth: Schol. vet. on Apollon. *Arg.* 1.185; see Apollod. 3.1.2. In the church fathers cited, variant readings of the name are *Klearchos* and *Kleomachos*, but *Kleochos* is the name in Schol. and Apollod.

38. *IBM* 930–933; *SIG* 3; *SGDI* 5504–5509. Hymns at Chares' statues: *Milet* 1.3.133.30. Since figures were dedicated by the sons of Pothon the *archêgos* (chief), Anaximandros, and Apollonides, we may suppose that the figures represented their fathers. On statues' initiating worship see Fontenrose 1960: 205 note 28. That Chares was *archos* of Teichiûssa probably does not mean that Teichiûssa was self-governing, but that he governed the deme of Teichiûssa; he was something like a mayor.

Aristodemos

A boundary stone was found near the Sacred Way close to the milestone on which Trajan's bilingual inscription is recorded. The inscription on the boundary stone reads, Ὅρο[ς] / τεμένους τῶν / Ἀριστοδήμου / προσεταίρων, "Boundary stone of the temenos of Aristodemos' associates" (Tuchelt 1973: 28). An Aristodemos was stephanephor in 306/5, and his associates (*prosetairoi*) are probably the college of Molpoi; for that is what *prosetairoi* means in the Molpoi inscription. This is presumably the Aristodemos who was the friend and general of Antigonos. The inscription, which is early Hellenistic, could be taken to mean that the Molpoi under Aristodemos placed this boundary marker at the limits of the Didymaean sanctuary. But a much damaged inscription, previously found, appears to identify another boundary stone with the same words preceded by the current stephanephor's name; it is dated in the earliest imperial period, perhaps the reign of Augustus (*DI* 101). If restored correctly, the visible part is "Stephanephor . . . Aristonous. Boundary of the temenos of Aristodemos' associates." Tuchelt supposes a temenos which the Molpoi consecrated to Aristodemos, who as Antigonos' friend may have effected Antigonos' grant of freedom to Miletos in 313. His achievement may have won him heroic honors after his death in a special temenos at Didyma. Yet one would expect simply "Boundary of Aristodemos' temenos." If we accept Aristodemos as a hero worshiped in this temenos, Aristodemos' colleagues must have set this temenos apart for him. They may be supposed an association of *temenizontes* or *temenitai,* such as we have observed organized for Demeter and Aphrodite (see above).[39]

Phylios

After singing hymns at the shrine of Hermes, the Molpoi stopped "by Phylios" or "at Phylios' place" (παρὰ Φυλίωι) for singing of hymns and also to offer incense, an offering that is expressly enjoined for every year. Phylios was probably a hero and this may have been the site of his tomb. There was an Aitolian hero of this name, the ill-treated lover of Kyknos, whose tomb was situated beside Lake Kyk-

39. On Aristodemos see Günther 1971: 80; Tuchelt 1973: 28–29; Diod. 19.57.5; his date as stephanephor: *Milet* 1.3.123.11. *Prosetairoi*: *Milet* 1.3.133.1, 7. Tuchelt reports a suggestion of L. Robert and Christian Habicht that this was the temenos of some god, unnamed in the inscriptions, and looked after by a college known as Aristodemos' associates.

neie. We know nothing about the Milesian Phylios other than what the Molpoi inscription tells us.[40]

Possible Hero Cults

Very likely Smikros of the foundation myth, Branchos' putative father, received heroic honors at Didyma. The love and honor that Leukothea ordered Patron to give Smikros, according to Varro (see p. 106), is perhaps the mythical representation of the honors that Milesians paid him.

If Kleochos as grandfather and fosterfather of Miletos, the Cretan founder and city eponym, received cult as a hero at his Didymaean tomb, it is likely that Miletos also received cult; but perhaps it was confined to the city, where his tomb as founder-hero was probably situated.[41]

RULERS

Kings

The Oracle of Didyma was the first to recognize Alexander as son of Zeus (R4). It is possible that Alexander thereafter received divine honors in Didyma and Miletos, but we have no record of them. There is little evidence of cult for any of his successors. Seleukos I and Antiochos I were lauded as benefactors (*euergetai*) of Miletos and Didyma, and statues of them were set up in Miletos. The Seleukids claimed descent from Apollo, and the Milesians conferred on Seleukos II a crown of bay leaves taken from Apollo Didymeus' adyton. Statues of the Seleukid queen, Apame, and princess Phila (Antigonos Gonatas' queen) were dedicated to Artemis Pythie in the goddess's temenos, and so was a statue of the Ptolemaic princess, Philotera. These were probably not intended as images of divine persons, although afterwards they may have been honored with acts of worship. Statues of Attalos II and of Athenaios, his brother, were set up at Didyma, but whether or not they represent divine honors cannot be said.[42]

40. *Milet* 1.3.133.30–31. For the Aitolian Phylios see Nicander and Areus *ap.* Ant. Lib. 12; Ovid *Met.* 7.372–381. Pollux 8.110 mentions *Phylioi Theoi* in Athens, probably tribal gods. Apollo had the epithet Phyllios in Thessalian Phthiotis, according to Strabo 9.5.14, 435.

41. That the hero Miletos was worshiped in the city of Miletos is evident from Milesian coins: *BMGC*, Ionia, p. 199, no. 157, pl. xxii.12 (reign of Hadrian); see below.

42. *DI* 479, 480, 493. Seleukid and Ptolemaic women: *DI* 113–115, 480. Attalids: *DI* 143, 144.

Roman Emperors

In the law of the Kosmoi and Molpoi, inscribed late in the first century A.D., the Milesian demos expresses its reverence for Apollo Didymeus and Delphinios and the Sebastoi (Augusti), the Emperors, established (*synkatheidrymenous*) with them. This means that in or near the Didymeion and the Delphinion the emperors received worship beside Apollo. There was a high priest (*archiereus*) and high priestess (*archiereia*) of the Sebastoi for the Milesian state including Didyma; prophets and hydrophors held these offices, whether concurrently or not is uncertain.[43]

Augustus (Octavian) received dedications along with Apollo Didymeus in Miletos, but there is no evidence that he had special honors at Didyma. The Sebastion in the city was initiated with worship of Augustus.[44]

According to Dion Cassius, Caligula wanted a temenos for himself in Miletos on the ground that Artemis already had Ephesos for hers, Augustus had Pergamon, and Tiberius had Smyrna; but, Dion adds, Caligula really intended to appropriate Apollo Didymeus' temple for himself. This seems absurd, since if Artemis had preempted Ephesos, Apollo had certainly preempted Miletos. It is true that Caligula could be absurd enough, but Dion has confused two of Caligula's projects. Suetonius tells us that he wanted to complete the Didymeion; Zonaras, the Byzantine historian, tells us that Caligula bade the province of Asia set aside a temenos for him in Miletos. Caligula took great interest in Didyma, but never desired the temple for himself, except, perhaps, insofar as he identified himself with Apollo. A statue of Caligula was set up at Didyma on the south side of Apollo's temple by the first *neopoioi* (sacristans) of Caligula's temple under Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, first high priest of Gaius Caesar's (Caligula's) temple in Miletos, and Protomachos, son of Glykon Ioulieus, first *neôkoros* of the temple. Hence Caligula had a temple in Miletos, undoubtedly that shown on the reverse of a Milesian coin, the obverse of which has the laureate head of Gaius Caligula. But Caligula, we notice, also received honors at Didyma, where his statue was surely venerated until the year 41. After his death Caligula was never deified.[45]

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43. *Milet* 1.3.134.4–10. High priest: *DI* 272.21–22, 279a.10–11, 287.6–7, 296.11–12, 363A.7–8, 372.5; high priestess: *DI* 370.4–5, 15, restored in 315.2. The games called Sebasta were celebrated in Miletos; see p. 73 note 19.

44. *Milet* 1.2.5, 7; Haussoullier 1902: 260.

45. Suet. *Gaius* 21; Dion Cass. 59.28.1; Zon. *Ann.* 11.7. Statue: *DI* 148. Coin: *BMGC*, Ionia, p. 198, no. 143. See Robert 1949.

Trajan, we have seen, was a benefactor of Didyma, and in the city received a dedication made to him and Apollo Didymeus (*Milet* 1.9.310).

Hadrian received much veneration at Didyma. We have already noticed the dedication on the façade of what may be a spring chamber made to him in company with Apollo, Artemis, Leto, Zeus, and the Demos of the Milesians. The day of his visit to Didyma in 129 was called a holy day, and the anniversary was celebrated: a prophet provided olive oil on the customary (*nominozomenê*) holy day of the Emperor Trajanus Hadrianus Caesar. Hadrian was made prophet at Didyma, and the city placed a statue of him there, perhaps in Apollo's temple, which surely received the veneration of Milesians.[46]

On the Sacred Way was found an inscription of a dedication to Artemis Pythie and Emperor Hadrian Caesar Augustus (Sebastos) Olympius Soter Founder (*oikistês*). In the city he was also joined in dedications with Apollo Didymeus and Artemis Pythie and was worshiped as founder (the third) of the city; there he was worshiped as Zeus Olympios and Soter (as in the dedication on the Sacred Way). Thus Hadrian became one of the Savior Gods of Didyma and Miletos. His bust appears on the obverse of a Milesian coin; the reverse shows a figure of the founder Miletos.[47]

Commodus received great honor at Didyma, as is evident from the addition of his name in adjectival form to the designation of the great quadrennial athletic festival, from about 200 called Megala Didymeia Kommodeia (p. 73). Commodus was probably so honored after his death; it is unlikely that the living Commodus received this honor.

Around 300 a statue of the Emperor Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine, was dedicated in Didyma (*DI* 160). It is probable that every emperor from Nerva to Constantine (who received divine honors from pagans, especially before 325) was represented by a statue at Didyma (with the possible exceptions of a few men who had the title briefly, such as Pertinax and Didius Julianus, and of some rivals of Constantine), which would have received veneration as a matter of course.

In the western empire the emperor was considered a god only after his death; then he was called *divus* (= *deus*, god). Not long be-

46. *DI* 58, 254.9–11, 494; cf. 356.11. Cf. *FD* 3.4.307: the days of Hadrian's visit were declared holidays at Delphi.

47. *DI* 119; *Milet* 1.7.301, 302. Founder of the city: *CIG* 2863, 2866. Hadrian as Zeus: *Milet* 1.2.20, 21, 23; 1.7.290, 292–295, 301, 302. Coins: *BMGC*, *loc. cit.* (note 41).

fore the principate Julius Caesar was deified as Divus Julius. Only the *genius* of the living emperor was venerated in the west. But in the eastern empire the living emperor was soon worshiped as a god, as Hellenistic kings had been. Certainly in Miletos the living Hadrian was venerated as a god; and apparently the emperors as a group, living and dead, received divine honors. Whatever the Milesians and other Hellenes believed about the divinity of emperors, they were willing to grant them veneration as gods; for them the emperors were honorary deities.[48]

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48. See Lily Ross Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown, Conn.: American Philological Association, 1931), 68–70, 151, 181–182, 206, 241–244; Georg Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Munich, 1912), 341–348. There is no clear case at Didyma of worship of a living person other than a ruler. From the beginning of the principate statues of Roman officials were placed at Didyma: Messala Potitus, proconsul, patron and benefactor (*euergetês*) of Miletos (*DI* 147); Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, prefect of Asia (*DI* 149); Gaius Antius Aulus Julius Quadratus, consul (*DI* 151); Appius Sabinus, prefect of Egypt and corrector of Asia (*DI* 156; see also *DI* 146). These probably do not indicate divine honors, except perhaps for Capito, high priest of Caligula's cult, in whose honor games called Kapitoneia were celebrated for over a century in Miletos, where there was a gymnasium of Capito, and offerings to whom are listed in the Milesian religious calendar; see *DI* 84.19, 148.4–6, 149, 278.5–6, p. 133; *Milet* 1.9.328, 329, p. 158; Haussoullier 1902: 281. Rehm called these heroic honors, but though Capito was dead they must have been divine honors. See Robert 1949: 209. Kenneth Scott contended that gold and silver statues always meant divine honors and so did the designation *euergetês*, benefactor: "The Significance of Statues in Precious Metals in Emperor Worship," *TAPhA* 62 (1931): 101–123. This view I now think untenable. We would have to suppose that many prominent Milesians were not merely respected and honored, but, while living, considered present and visible gods (the Milesians would surely know better), e.g., Meniskos, *DI* 107, 322, 325, 345, 378. Several gilded statues of Meniskos were made. A Platonist dedicated a statue of Plato Ariston's son in the earlier second century A.D. (*DI* 150); this might mean a kind of heroic honor for Plato, though obviously not at his tomb.

IX

Conclusion

Several conclusions have been reached or confirmed in this study of all evidence on the Oracle and cults of ancient Didyma.

From the absence of Mycenaean finds at Didyma or of anything that certainly antedates the eighth century B.C. we can conclude with fair assurance that the sanctuary and the Oracle postdate the Ionian settlement of Miletos. Furthermore there were no oracular establishments like Didyma and Delphi operating anywhere in the world before the first millennium B.C. The beginnings of the Didymaean Oracle may be dated to the ninth century; it was probably founded earlier than the Delphic Oracle, which was established in the eighth century. Apollo was probably an Anatolian god who became a patron of divination and seership, and his first Oracles were situated in western Asia Minor, perhaps in Lydia and Caria.

The family or mantic association of the Branchidai controlled the Oracle down to the Persians' destruction of the temple in 494 B.C. Probably at first a loose association of seers like the Telmessoi, the Branchidai developed a cult organization and a fixed mantic procedure in which an appointed male prophet spoke the responses; after 494 they disappear from history. Following an hiatus of 160 years, ending between 334 and 331 after Alexander took Miletos, the Milesians reorganized the cult and Oracle of Apollo. They began the building of a huge new temple, never entirely completed. The cult

was reorganized somewhat on Delphic lines. A woman spoke the responses and a male prophet, elected annually, presided as high priest over the sanctuary and Oracle, aided by a hypochrestes, comptrollers, scribes, sacristans, and Kosmoi, the governing board.

The Seleukids, beginning with Seleukos I and Antiochos I, promoted the rebuilding of the temple and favored Didyma in many ways; and the Ptolemies were benefactors too. Around 200 B.C. Apollo's festival was made into a quadrennial athletic festival, the Great Didymeia. Later Didyma received benefactions from Julius Caesar and Roman emperors, especially from Caligula, Trajan, and Hadrian. The Oracle remained active until the fourth century A.D., coming to an end sometime after 363, when Julian's reign ended.

The sixty-one surviving Didymaean responses, authentic and unauthentic, amount to just over one-ninth of the number of surviving Delphic responses; yet they are extremely significant for our knowledge of Hellenic oracular pronouncements. Over half of the sixty-one are both Historical (as here defined) and authentic, as against under fourteen per cent of the Delphic corpus; the Didymaean number so classified, thirty-three, is nearly half the Delphic number, seventy-three. If we add the probably authentic Quasi-Historical responses, we have thirty-six probably authentic Didymaean responses, well over one-third of the Delphic 104. Though far behind Delphi in total records, Didyma has more than Klaros or any other ancient Oracle.

All but three of the Didymaean Historical responses are recorded in inscriptions, mostly Didymaean and Milesian, and three were spoken before 500 B.C. They are mostly directions and sanctions on religious and public topics, in every way very like the Historical responses of Delphi, except that the Didymaean responses are likely to be in verse. There are no prohecies or ambiguous responses among them (except a doubtful prophecy in R4). Few extraordinary responses of that kind were attributed to Didyma, as far as our sources show, and they are found in legends and pseudo-historical narratives. Thus the Didymaean evidence helps confirm the conclusion that the Delphic evidence leads to: the actual responses of ancient Oracles were largely directions and sanctions of the kind indicated.

Apollo Didymeus was the patron god of the Milesian state; he spoke oracles at Didyma in response to inquiries from the Milesian state, Milesian citizens, and foreigners, and he received the veneration both of Milesians and of others, Greek and non-Greek. Apollo was also worshiped under other epithets at Didyma, e.g., Philesios. After Apollo the principal gods at Didyma were Zeus, Leto, and Ar-

temis, the holy family with Apollo. Zeus was mainly worshiped as Soter, and he had at least four minor cults in addition. The cult of Artemis Pythie was the most prominent after Apollo's; Artemis also had at least two minor cults. Altogether Apollo had twenty-five known companion deities in addition to at least seven hero companions and several Roman emperors (and perhaps some Hellenistic kings).[1]

In the archaic period Apollo's companions were much fewer. We can be fairly certain that in the sixth century B.C. Artemis (not yet called Pythie), Zeus (probably Soter), Leto, Hekate, Poseidon, the Kabeiroi, Leukothea, the nymphs, Branchos, Euangelos, and Kleochos were worshiped at Didyma beside Apollo Didymeus; and on the Sacred Way there were Hermes Enkeladou, Dynamis, Phylios, and Neileus. Apollo was also worshiped at Didyma in archaic times as Philesios and perhaps as Delphinios. Apollo's ancient companions were at least ten gods (or groups of gods) and five heroes.[2]

Probably most of these cults survived the Persian destruction and continued through the non-oracular interval from 494 to 334. Certainly Apollo Didymeus, Artemis, Zeus, Leto, Hekate, Hermes, the Kabeiroi, the nymphs, Phylios, and Dynamis were worshiped then. An offering was made to Chrysanthe, probably Aphrodite, in the fourth century, and it is likely that Aphrodite was worshiped at Didyma in archaic times. But the worship of Apollo Philesios, Leukothea, Branchos, and Euangelos may have ceased sometime after 494.

Within a half-century after the renewal of the Oracle the worship of Agathe Tyche and Soteira is attested, and the altars of the Kûretes and the Muses may be as early as this. In 288/7 the worship of Osiris is attested, and probably Isis came to Didyma at the same time. It may be that the cult of living rulers began at Didyma in 331 with the veneration of Alexander. Before 100 B.C. we have evidence of a cult of

1. Among the companions Zeus, Artemis, Poseidon, and Aphrodite are counted once each, although each had three or more cults at or near Didyma under different epithets. The Kabeiroi, nymphs, Kûretes, and Muses are counted as units, each a single deity. There was no moment, we should realize, when all these cults were present together at Didyma. Probably most of them were on hand at the end of pagan worship in the later fourth century A.D. Many were introduced late, e.g., Soteira Kore's cult. The emperors' cult belongs necessarily to the Roman imperial period, and Caligula probably received no worship after 41 A.D. The worship of individual kings and emperors may have faded away sometime after their reigns had ended.

2. The fifth-century Molpoi inscription attests altars or images of Hekate, Hermes, nymphs, Dynamis, Phylios, and Chares on the Sacred Way, and it is certain that the law inscribed antedates 494 B.C. Poseidon's altar at Cape Poseidion was built in the early sixth century B.C.

Asklepios and it is probable that Telesphorion was introduced to Didyma with him; and the cult of the Demos must have been instituted before 100. Soteira Kore, we have noticed, was a very late arrival; but for Demeter and Herakles we have no information; they may have been worshiped at Didyma in archaic times.

Noteworthy is the absence of several Olympian deities, at least as far as surviving records show. Athena apparently had no cult at Didyma despite her prominence as Polias in Miletos. Hera was not worshiped in Didyma and seems to have been a minor figure in Miletos; Leto was Zeus's consort in Didymaean worship. Dionysos is barely recognized as a herm head; Ares and Hephaistos, as far as we know, were ignored altogether. Of other celestial deities Helios appears only as identified very late with Apollo Didymeus himself; Selene does not appear at all in spite of her association with Endymion on nearby Latmos; there is no suggestion that Artemis was the moon. Recognition of the Asian Great Mother at Didyma is doubtful at best, although there is evidence of a priestess of the Korybantes, perhaps identical at Didyma with the Kûretes.

After reviewing all the evidence that survives for the cults of Didyma we can say that it was a typically Hellenic cult center; and the cults of Miletos too look like the cults of any city of the Greek peninsula. It is probable that Apollo, Artemis (as Apollo's sister), Leto, and Hekate were originally Anatolian deities and that Anatolian Oracles preceded those of Hellas, but the Ionians adopted Apollo and the others, thoroughly Hellenized them, and founded the Oracle of Didyma. Apollo looks much the same in Miletos as in Athens and Delphi. There is little that can be called Carian or Anatolian in Didymaean worship. We do not find the Asian Mother and Attis or their mysteries. The Kabeiroi were Asian deities, but brought by the Phoenicians from Canaan or Syria. The deities worshiped beside Apollo, other than those of probable Asian origin, were Zeus, Poseidon, Demeter, the nymphs, the Muses, Asklepios, and a few others in their Greek characters with Greek rituals, as far as we know.

Didyma was surely an impressive sight when the temple and other buildings stood and when trees and grass grew in the *paradeisos* and between buildings. About 250 A.D. a visitor could have seen it in its complete state, all edifices built except for the finishing touches on the temple,all cults present except that of Soteira Kore (and perhaps a few that had disappeared), and at the center a still active Oracle, after Delphi the most prestigious Oracle of Apollo in the Hellenic world.

Catalogue of Didymaean Responses

The following Catalogue is arranged in the same way as my Catalogue of Delphic responses. The Didymaean responses, however, are numbered consecutively—not separately for each category—as follows: 1–33 Historical, 34–56 Quasi-Historical, 57–60 Legendary, 61 Fictional. For each response the consultant (*C*), occasion (*Occ*), and question (*Q*), if known, are stated; then follows the response (*R*) in English translation, with indication of mode and topic. The Roman numerals in parentheses following the statements of occasion indicate the classification of occasions (p. 91); the Arabic numerals in parentheses following questions indicate the classification of questions (p. 90). Following the response is the citation of the source or sources with indication of the character of each source cited: Direct quotation, prose or verse (meter indicated if not dactylic hexameter); Pseudo-direct quotation, prose or verse; Indirect quotation; Testimony. Citations in parentheses indicate less precise references to the response in the preceding work cited: Indirect quotation or Testimony after a citation of Direct quotation, Testimony after a citation of Indirect quotation. The heading *NP* (*No Place*) indicates that the source cited does not mention Didyma or the Didymaean Apollo (or any other oracular shrine or any god other than Apollo). Under *NP* the subheading "Apollo" means that Apollo is named as speaker without epithet or indication of oracular site; "The god" means that

no named deity was speaker; "Oracle" means only the information that an oracle was spoken. If a source attributes the response to another Oracle, differing from another source's attribution of the response to Didyma, the name of the Oracle, for example, *Delphi,* is a subheading under *OP* (*Other Place*), followed by the citation. No heading (*NP* or *OP*) means that the sources cited definitely attribute the response to Didyma, or that the source is a Didymaean or Milesian inscription; these sources have first place. The earliest source is marked with an asterisk if it is not the first source cited.

Text follows the citations: the Greek text (or Latin text in two instances) of the response and relevant context is quoted. The text of the response, whether stated directly or indirectly, is set in a different type from the context. Some texts offer only testimony to the response content and have no quotation of it. If there is more than one source, the earlier or earliest is quoted, and occasionally another, if different or informative. The Greek or Latin text is followed by a translation of the context; the response text is translated under *R* (*Response*).

In quoting inscriptions which have missing words I use a short straight line (——) to mark the lacuna and do not attempt to indicate the extent of the break, which cannot always be done with certainty. In any text three dots (. . .) mean omission of words in the text.

Comment follows *Text:* it includes page references to the foregoing chapters, if the response has been discussed or mentioned among them.

The sixty-one responses of the Catalogue include some fragmentary inscriptional texts, but they provide sufficient information about content and circumstances to justify their inclusion. There are ten other records of Didymaean responses, all epigraphic, that either are too damaged to give an adequate knowledge of content and circumstances or lack the response. These will be found in Supplement A. Eight other texts appear in Supplement B; these have been conjectured to be Didymaean response texts or to contain references to Didymaean responses, but either are not so identified or may not record responses at all.

To the right of most response numbers a parenthesis shows the corresponding number of the response in Thomas L. Robinson's collection of 106 records of responses attributed to Didyma or conjectured to be Didymaean, which will appear in his *Theological Oracles and the Sanctuaries of Claros and Didyma,* to be published as a supplement to the *Harvard Theological Review* for 1986 (his dissertation

[1981] has ninety-three records). My Catalogue has sixty-one records (plus eighteen in Supplements), three of which (R47, 48, 56) do not appear in Robinson's collection (R48 is in his Klarian collection [C-35]). His 4 combines R38 and R39. He includes thirty records that I have omitted on several grounds (see pp. 243–44 below). If the sources do not specify Didyma (Branchidai, Miletos) or the Didymaean Apollo as the provenance of the response, I am reluctant to include it in the Didymaean Catalogue. I make exceptions only when the recipients are said to be Milesian or when evidence of attribution to Didyma seems equally strong.

Not included are allusions to the speaking of several oracles to royal families such as the Seleukids (*DI* 493.3–5) or to cities such as Rhodes (*DI* 83.4–7) without specification of contents or circumstances of any single response.

The Historical and Quasi-Historical responses are dated immediately after the number at the head. For Quasi-Historical responses that I consider unauthentic the supposed dates are bracketed.

"Unknown" after *C.*, *Occ.*, or *Q.* means that the information may have appeared in the text (inscriptional in every instance), but is not seen among the visible letters. "Not stated" means that the information is not given in the source(s).

Didymaean Responses

HISTORICAL RESPONSES

1 (Rob. 1) Probably early sixth century B.C.
C. Milesians?
Occ., *Q.* Unknown.
R. . . . I dissuade . . . on the previous night I said. And it will be better and preferable for him who obeys, but the contrary for him who disobeys.
Mode A1 (D1), Topic 3j
Direct, prose—Inscription of Miletos, *Milet* 1.3.178.

Text.

[——ἀπ]/ομυθέομ[αι·τ]ῇ̣[ι]αρ——/——τεως τῆι προτέρηι / νυκτὶ εἶπον. καὶ [τῶι μὲν πειθομέ/νωι λῶιον καὶ ἄ]μεινον ἔσται. τῶι // δὲ μὴ πειθομένω[ι τοὐναντίον.]

1 ἀπ]ομυθέομ[αι conj. Rehm

Comment. The inscription is written *boustrophêdon* in very archaic letters. The final sentence with its "better and preferable" formula indicates that this is an oracular response. Most of the text has disappeared. The god appears to refer in the first person to something he said on the previous night. The mode and topic classifications that follow *R* above are made from the visible text, incomplete though it be. The recommendation of obedience implies that a command was made (A1). See pp. 8, 93.

2 (Rob. 2) Early sixth century B.C.
C., *Occ.* Unknown.
Q. [Is it better to do as our fathers did?] (14)
R. It is right to do as your fathers.
Mode A2, Topic 3j
Direct, prose—Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 11.

Text. ——σοι[σι?]/ λ̣ηιστοί· θε[ὸ/ς] δὲ ἔπεν· **Δίκ/αιον ποιεῖν//ὡς πατέρες.**

. . . plunderable? And the god said, "It is right to do as your fathers."

Comment. This is also written *boustrophêdon*. Rehm proposed as restoration of the first visible line *ἐν ταῖς νήσοισι*, "in the islands" (a letter stroke before the sigma in line 1 could be part of an eta). Aside from this only the word *lêistoi* yields any information about the occasion or question. Rehm and others have supposed that the consultants requested a sanction for piracy, the question perhaps being, "Are those who live in the islands plunderable?" But we have too little to go on, just one word and part of another. Apparently we have the whole response, which sanctions the practice of the consultants' ancestors; they should continue in that path. The question could be, "Is it right to do as our fathers have done to keep us from being subject to plunder?" In short, we have no context for *lêistoi*. See pp. 8, 93, 98; Bean 1966: 231–232; Fontenrose 1978: 239.

3 (Rob. 5) Late sixth century B.C.?
C. Milesians?
Occ., *Q.* Unknown.
R. Women may not enter Herakles' sanctuary; there shall be no eating of greens [the rest is fragmentary].
Mode C1, Topic 1d
Direct, prose—Inscription of Miletos, *Milet* 1.3.132a = *LSAM* 42A.

Text. [Περ]ὶ τὠρακλέ[ος——]/ θεὸς ἔπεν· **Γυν/[α]ῖκας ἐς τὠρακ[λέος ——] / λαχάνων [ο]ὐ [β/ρ]ῶσις· γυναι——/ων ἐσιν——/ [γ]υνὴ——**

On Herakles' [sanctuary?] the god said, "Women may not enter [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. This is also a *boustrophêdon* inscription. The first words of the response can be scanned as iambic trimeter, but the meter does not seem to be

continued in the fragments that follow. The badly damaged inscriptions on sides b, c, and d of the stone may also be part of the god's response or may be no more than parts of the inscribed law of Herakles' cult. Side b contains instructions for the burning of thighs and the sacrifice of a black sheep. Formerly I took these to be parts of the response and classified it as Mode A1, Topic 1b (1978: 419). We may suppose that Apollo sanctioned the whole cult law, which was then taken to be his response (cf. H26); but the prohibitions of *R* above follow immediately upon, "The god said." There was undoubtedly a negative of prohibition (*mê*), or possibly an *ou* with the future indicative, in the lost portion of the first sentence: usually women were forbidden to enter Herakles' sanctuaries or to take part in his rites. See pp. 8, 93, 156.

4 (Rob. 9) 331 B.C.
C. Milesians.
Occ. Renewal of Oracle (xx).
Q. Not stated.
R. Alexander is son of Zeus; he will be victorious at Arbela; Dareios will die; there will be revolution in Lakedaimon.
Mode D1 (E2), Topic 3a (2e)
Testimony—Kallisthenes 124.14aJ *ap.* Strab. 17.1.43, 814.

> *Text.* προστραγωδεῖ δὲ τούτοις ὁ Καλλισθένης ὅτι . . . τότε ἥ τε κρήνη ἀνάσχοι καὶ μαντεῖα πολλὰ οἱ Μιλησίων πρέσβεις κομίσαιεν εἰς Μέμφιν περὶ τῆς Διὸς γενέσεως τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῆς ἐσομένης περὶ Ἄρβηλα νίκης καὶ τοῦ Δαρείου θανάτου καὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι νεωτερισμῶν.
>
> Kallisthenes adds embellishments to this, namely that [after the Oracle had ceased when the Branchidai plundered it, and the spring had failed] the spring flowed again, and the Milesians' envoys carried many oracles to Memphis concerning Alexander's conception from Zeus, his coming victory at Arbela, Dareios' death, and the revolution in Lakedaimon.

Comment. According to Strabo, Kallisthenes reported many oracles that the Milesian envoys took to Alexander. All were no doubt spoken within a short period, perhaps in a single session, and intended to please Alexander. This group of responses can only be counted as a single pronouncement. See pp. 15–16, 89, 94, 104.

5 (Rob. 17) 228/7 B.C.
C. Demos of the Milesians.
Occ. Application of Drerians and Milatians from Crete for admission to the citizen-body of Miletos (ix).
Q. Will it be better for us both now and for the future to admit Drerians and Milatians, in whose behalf the men have come to the city, to the body politic and to apportion them land and the other benefits which belong to Milesians? (14)

R. Gladly receive helper men into your city as residents; for it is better and preferable [the rest is fragmentary].

Mode A2, Topic 2d

Direct, verse—Inscription of Miletos, *Milet* 1.3.33f.11–14, 33g.1–4.

Testimony—Inscription of Miletos, *Milet* 1.3.37b.32–35.

Text.

(f) Ὁ δημ[ος ὁ Μιλησίων ἐρωτ]ᾶι εἰ αὐτῶι [λ]ῷιπ[ον] κα[ὶ ἄ]μεινον
ἔσται κ[αὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπ]ειτα χρόνον προσλαβόντι πρὸς τὸ
πολίτε[υμα ἄνδρας] Δρηρίους καὶ Μιλα[τ]ίους, ὑπερ ὧν οἱ ἄνδρες
ἥκουσι π[ρὸς τὴμ πόλι]ν κ[αὶ] με[ταδό]ντι αὐ[τ]οῖς χώρας καὶ τῶν
(10) ἄλλων [ὧν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλο]ις μ[έ]τεστι Μιλη[σί]οις. Θεὸς ἔχρησε·
[Δέξασθ' ἀσπ]ασίως οἰκήτορας ἄνδρας ἀρωγοὺς
[ἐς πόλιν ὑμετ]έρην· καὶ γὰρ λῷιον καὶ ἄμεινον.
————ς φῶτες θεσμ[οῖσι]ν ἐπῶρ[σαν]
————ᾳρεσ————

(g) **σ————ιμ————**
πα————ν θυσ————
καὶ διδύμων ἐ————
ὡς ὑμῖν τελέσω[σι————]

[*Milet* 1.3.33f.6–14, 33g.1–4]

The second word of g3 may be Διδύμων.

The demos of the Milesians asks whether it will be better [etc.; *Q* above]. The god replied, "Gladly receive [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. See pp. 17, 60, 64, 91, 104.

6 (Rob. 18) 228/7 B.C.

C. Demos of the Milesians.

Occ. Application of certain Cretans for admission to the citizen-body of Miletos (ix).

Q. Will it be better for us both now and for the future to admit [name lost], Philanor, So—, and their company, in whose behalf the men have come to the city, to the body politic and to apportion them land and the other benefits that belong to Milesians? (14)

R. [Too few words are visible to inform us of the answer, but it is no doubt an approval in hexameters of admitting these Cretans to the citizen body.]

Mode A2, Topic 2d

Direct, verse—Inscription of Miletos, *Milet* 1.3.33g.11–12.

Testimony—Inscription of Miletos, *Milet* 1.3.37b.32–35.

Text.

5 Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μιλησίω[ν ἐρωτᾶι εἰ αὐτῶι λῶιον καὶ]
ἄμεινον ἔσται κα[ὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον προσ-]

λαβόντι πρὸς τὸ πολ[ίτευμα ἄνδρας τοὺς περὶ——]
καὶ Φιλὰν[ο]ρα καὶ Σω[——, ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ ἄνδρες ἥκουσι]
πρὸς τὴμ πόλιν, καὶ με[ταδόντι αὐτοῖς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων]
ὧγ καὶ τοῖ[ς ἄλ]λοις μ[έτεστι Μιλησίοις. Θεὸς ἔχρησε·]
Ἄ φρέσιν [ἐ]ς τεν——
τιμαῖς δὲ ἐξω——

(*Milet* 1.3.33g.5–12)

The demos of the Milesians asks whether it will be better [etc.; *Q* above]. The god replied . . . [see *R* above].

Comment. See pp. 17, 60, 64, 85, 94, 101.

7 (Rob. 19) 223/2 B.C.
C. Demos of the Milesians.
Occ. Application of Cretan bands for Milesian citizenship (ix).
Q. Will it be better for the demos of the Milesians to enroll the men in the citizen body? (14)
R. [Lost, but the enrollment was approved: see *Milet* 1.3.36.62–68].
Mode A2, Topic 2d
Testimony—Inscription of Miletos, *Milet* 1.3.36a.

Text.
[—— οἱ πρυτάνεις κ]αὶ οἱ ἡιρημένοι ἐπὶ [τῆι]
[φυλακῆι εἶπαν· ——]αι Μιλησί[ου]ς ἑλέσθαι
[θεοπρόπους πέντε? ἐξ ἁπάντων τούτους δὲ παραγε]ν[ομ]ένους εἰς τὸ
[ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Διδυμέως ἐρωτᾶν τὸν] θεὸν εἰ τῶι δήμωι
[τῶι Μιλησίων λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον ἔσται τοὺς ἄνδρα]ς προσγραφα-
[μένωι πρὸς τὸ πολίτευμα——]
1 [οἱ πρυτάνεις κ]αὶ sugg. Rehm 2 εἶπαν see *DI* 142.4 Μιλησί[οι]ς?

The prytanes and those chosen for the watch moved . . . Milesians choose five [?] envoys from all and that they go to the sanctuary of Apollo Didymeus and ask the god whether it will be better and preferable for the demos of the Milesians to enroll the men in the citizen body——

Comment. See pp. 60, 64, 104, 112.

8 (Rob. 20) Circa 225 B.C.
C. Demos of the Milesians.
Occ. Proposal of the Skiridai on the conduct of money collections (*agerseis*) for Artemis Bûlephoros Skiris (xx).
Q. Will it be pleasing to the goddess and advantageous to the demos both now and for the future to conduct the money collections for Artemis Bûlephoros Skiris as the Skiridai interpret and propose or as it is now done? (14)

R. [Missing, but undoubtedly an approval of the Skiridai's proposal.]
Mode A1 (A2), Topic 1d
Testimony—Inscription of Miletos, Michel 480 = *SGDI* 5498 = *SIG*, 2d ed., 660 = *Rev. Phil.* 44 (1920) 290 (Haussoullier) = *LSAM* 47.

Text.

[—— καὶ]
τ[ῆι θεῶι] κ[εχαρισ]μένω[ς ἔ]ξει κ[αὶ τῶι] δήμωι συμφερόν-
τως καὶ νῦγ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτε χρόνον συντελοῦντ[ι]
τ[ὰ]ς ἀγέρσεις Ἀρτέμιδι Βουληφόρωι Σκιρίδι καθότι Σκιρ[ί-]
δαι ἐξηγούμενοι εἰσφέρουσι ἢ καθότι νῦγ γίνεται. ἃ δὲ
[ἄ]ν ὁ θεὸς θεσπίσῃ οἱ μὲν θεοπρόποι εἰσαγγελάτωσαν
εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀκούσας βουλευσάσθω ὅπως
πάντα πραχθήσεται ἀκολούθως τῆι τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλ[ί-]
α[ι] . . . [names of envoys]
. . . Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μιλησίων ἐρωτᾶι πότε-
[ρο]ν τῆι θεῶι κεχαρισμένον ἔξει καὶ τῶι δήμωι συμ-
[φε]ρόντως ἔσται καὶ νῦγ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον
[συ]ντελοῦντας τὰς ἀγέρσεις Ἀρτέμιδι Βουλη-
[φόρωι Σκιρίδι——]

7 συμβουλ[ί]α[ι] Haussoullier: συμβουλ[ῆι] Michel after Rayet

——will it be both pleasing to the goddess and advantageous to the demos both now and for the future to conduct the money collections for Artemis Bûlêphoros Skiris as the Skiridai interpret and propose or as is now done. The envoys must report the god's response to the assembly, and the demos, having heard it, must deliberate how everything shall be done in accordance with the god's counsel. . . . [Names of envoys chosen.] The demos of the Milesians asks whether it will be pleasing [etc.; see *Q* above].

Comment. Lines 1–4 state the question as it was expressed in the decree of the Milesian demos (the first part of which is lost) which provides for the envoys who will consult Apollo's Oracle on the Skiridai's proposal (the Skiridai were an association devoted to the worship of Artemis Bûlêphoros Skiris). Lines 10–14 report the question as the envoys put it to the Oracle; it breaks off in the middle of *Bûlêphoros*.

The inscription comes from the Milesian theatre and is now in the Museum of the Louvre. Artemis Bûlêphoros Skiris apparently had an important cult in the city of Miletos. It appears that when the Skiridai proposed a new method of making *agerseis* they had to have the approval of the Milesian demos and of Apollo Didymeus.

9 (Rob. 21) Late third century B.C.
C. Demos of Iasos.
Occ., *Q.* Not stated.
R. They should govern themselves in harmony.

Mode A1, Topic 2b

NP. Indirect—Inscription of Iasos, *IBM* 442 = Michel 467 = *OGIS* 237, line 6.

Text. . . . γέγ[ρα]

[φε] πλεονάκις τῶι δήμωι περὶ τούτων ἀκόλουθα πράσσων τῆι διὰ πατέρων ὑπαρχούσηι αὐτῶι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὐεργεσίαι, ὅ τε θεὸς ὁ ἀρχηγέτης τοῦ γένους τῶμ βασιλέων συνεγμεμαρτύρηκεν τῶι βασιλεῖ παρακαλῶν **μεθ' ὁμονοίας πολιτεύεσθαι**, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἔχων ταύτην τὴν αἵρεσιν πολύ τι μᾶλλον μεθ' ὁμονοίας πολιτευόμενος τὰ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ παρειληφὼς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ταῦτα διατηρεῖ. . . .

(1–9)

. . . [Antiochos] has written often to the demos on these matters, acting in accordance with the benevolence that he has inherited from his ancestors, and the god who is founder of the king's family has given testimony in support of the king, calling [on us] to govern ourselves in harmony; and the demos, having this purpose, governing itself even more in harmony, and having received the greatest goods from the king, guards them. . . .

Comment. In 1933a: 217 and 1978: 422 I took Antiochos III to be the recipient of this response, supposing that the god had called on him for harmonious statecraft. This is also Robinson's interpretation. But *synekmartyrein* means to bear witness or testify in support of someone. That is, the god joined the king in advising harmonious government for Iasos. This interpretation is confirmed in lines 7–8: the Iasian commonwealth has in consequence become more harmonious than ever.

E. L. Hicks identified the *theos archêgetês* as Apollo Didymeus in "Iasos," *JHS* 8 (1887): 97; Haussoullier 1902: 150 note 1 considered this probable, but thought that the Delphic Apollo could possibly have spoken it. Iasos was founded from Miletos and was situated not far from Didyma. For the special relation of Apollo to the Seleukids see *DI* 493.5–6.

The decree, which honors Antiochos III, refers to a letter from him recalling the Seleukids' benefactions to the Hellenes (and no doubt to Iasos in particular), asking for the goodwill and support of Iasos. Perhaps the complete oracular response directed willing submission to Antiochos as the means of harmonious government. See p. 112.

10 (Rob. 22) Circa 205–200 B.C.

C. Demos of the Milesians.

Occ. Proposal to convert the Didymeian festival into a crowned athletic festival (xx).

Q. Not stated, but probably whether it is better to do so (14?).

R. They should make the *agôn* of the Didymeia a crowned contest [*agôn stephanitês*, with crowns or garlands as prizes] and associate the Hellenes in them. The city and country [of Miletos] are sacred and inviolable.

Mode A1 (A2), Topic 1a

Testimony—Decree of Miletos, inscription of Kos, *SIG* 590 = Herzog 1905: 980–981, lines 4–30.

Text.

Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ δή-
μου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τὰς τε πανηγύ-
ρεις καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας συντελοῦν-
τος ἐν Διδύμοις τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Δι-
δυμεῖ, τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας
καθιερωθείσης διὰ τὴν ἐν τῶιδε τῶι
τόπωι Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς μεῖξιν καὶ τὰς
τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείας, ἐξ ὧν ἔθνη τε οὐ-
κ ὀλίγα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τῶν βασιλέων
οἱ τετευχότες τῶν μεγίστων τῆς
παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλίας τήν τε καθι-
έρωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀσυλίαν ἀνηγόρευ-
σαν ἀπαράκλητοι αὐτοὶ τῶι τε θεῶι καὶ
τῆι πόλει τὴν ἀξίαν περὶ τούτων ἀπο-
νείμαντες χάριν, προσήκει δὲ τῶι δή-
μωι πράσσοντι τοῖς ἐξενηνεγμένοις
χρησμοῖς ἀκόλουθα τόν τε ἀγῶνα τιθέ-
ναι τῶν Διδυμείων στεφανίτην καὶ
τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς ταῦτα παραλαμβά-
νειν, κοινῶν τῶν εὐεργεσίων εἰς πάν-
τας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγενημέ-
νων, δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι ἑλέσθαι πρεσ-
βευτὰς πρὸς Κῶιους φίλους καὶ συμμά-
χους ὑπάρχοντας τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ αἱ-
ρεθέντας ἀφικομένους ἀπολογίσασθαι
περὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦ μαντείου γεγονότων
τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι
. . . .

Whereas the demos, celebrating the festivals and the games at Didyma in accordance with ancestral custom for Apollo Didymeus, and the city and country having been consecrated because of the union of Leto and Zeus in this place and the god's oracles, in consequence of which nations not a few and cities and those of the greatest kings who have received the god's counsel have themselves proclaimed voluntarily both the consecration and inviolability, granting the god and the city fitting grati-

tude for this, and it is proper that the demos, acting in accordance with the reported oracles, make the games of the Didymeia crowned games and invite the Hellenes to these, the benefactions made by the god being common to all of them, the council has resolved to choose envoys to the Koans, being friends and allies of the demos, and that those chosen shall on arrival explain what has occurred through the Oracle for the kings and the other Hellenes. . . .

Comment. The decree refers to oracular responses, indicating more than one on this enterprise. Like H45 concerning the Leukophryenia of Magnesia-on-Maeander, there was one response that both sanctioned the expansion of the Didymeia and called for recognizing the Milesian land, and especially Didyma, as sacred and inviolable (*asylon*). See pp. 19, 104.

11 (Rob. 23) 201 B.C.
C. Teos.
Occ. Decision to declare the city and country inviolable (xxi).
Q. Probably whether it is better to do so (14?).
R. The territory of Teos should be sacred and inviolable.
Mode A2, Topic 1d
Testimony—Inscription of Malla in Crete, *ICret* 1.19.2 = *SGDI* 5184, lines 5–9.

Text.
οἵ καὶ ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τὰν ἐκκλησίαν [τό τε ψάφισμα ἀπέδωκαν]
καὶ αὐτοὶ διελέγην ἀκολούθως τοῖς ἐν [τῶι ψαφίσματι κατακε-]
χωρισμένοις ὑπέρ τε τοῦ εἶναι ἱερὰν κα[ὶ ἄσυλον τὰν χώραν αὐτῶν,δ ']
συνέστησαν διά τε τῶν χρησμῶ[ν τῶ 'Απόλλωνος τῶ ἐν]
Δελφοῖς καὶ ἐν Διδύμοις . . .

[The Teians] came before the assembly, presented the resolution, and in person discoursed in accordance with the particular clauses registered in the resolution concerning their country's being sacred and inviolable; and this they supported with oracles of Apollo at Delphi and Didyma . . .

Comment. This is H46 in the Delphic Catalogue. See p. 104.

12 (Rob. 25) 180 B.C.
C. Demos of the Milesians.
Occ. Treaty with Herakleia-under-Latmos (xxii).
Q. Not stated; probably whether it is better to make the treaty (14?).
R. It will be better for you to make the treaty with the Herakleots.
Mode A2, Topic 2d
Indirect—Inscription of Miletos, *Milet* 1.3.150 = *SIG* 633, line 17.

Text.

. . . Ἐπειδὴ Ἡρακλεῶται *φίλοι καὶ ἀσ-*
τυγείτονες τῆς πόλε⟨ως⟩ ὑπάρχοντες ψήφισμα καὶ πρεσβευτὰς
ἀποστείλαντες ἠξίωσαν
τὸν δῆμον συνθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰσοπολιτείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
φιλαν-
θρώπων, καὶ οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν Θεόδωρος Αἰνέου, Ἀρχέδαμος
Δελφίνου, Μαι-
ων Ὑφικλείους, ἐπελθόντες ἐπί τε τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὴν
ἐκκλησίαν
ἐξέθεντο τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐφ' οἷς ἠξίουν τὴν σύνθεσιν, τοῦ τε δ[ή]μου
ποιησαμένου τὴν ὑ-
πὲρ τούτων ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον τὸ ἐν Διδύμοις ὁ [θ]εὸς χρησμὸν
ἐξήνεικεν ἀπο-
φαινόμενος ***ἄμεινον ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαι συνθεμένοις πρὸς Ἡρακλεώτας·***
δεδόχθαι Μιλησί-
οις· Ὅπως ἕκαστα συντελεσθῇι μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐμενείας
συμφερόντως ἀμφοτέ-
ραις ταῖς πόλεσιν καθηγουμένης τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος συμβουλίας τὸμ
μὲν προφή-
την μετὰ τοῦ ταμίου τοῦ πα[ρεδ]ρεύοντος
ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι θυσίας ποιήσασθαι καὶ προσόδους
ἱερῶν τῶι τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Διδυμεῖ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶι
καὶ τῶι Διὶ τῶι
Σωτῆρι, *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν στεφανηφόρον μετὰ τῶν προσεταίρων τῶι*
Ἀπόλλωνι *τῶι Δελφι-*
νίωι, τούς τε πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς ἠρημένους ἐπὶ τῆι φυλακῆι μετὰ τοῦ
ἱέρεω καὶ τοῦ ἱεροκήρυκος
τῆι Ἑστίαι τῆι Βουλαίαι, ἐπευχομένους συνενεικεῖν τὰ δεδογμένα τῶι τε
δήμωι τῶι Μιλησίων καὶ
τῶι Ἡρακλεώτων . . .

(10–25)
11 πολευπ on stone

. . . Whereas the Herakleots, being friends and neighbors of the city, have sent a resolution and envoys and asked the demos to make a treaty with them about reciprocity of civic rights and the other privileges; and the men sent by them—Theodoros Aineas' son, Archedamos Delphinos' son, Maion Hypsikles' son—have come to the archons and the council and the assembly and set forth clause by clause the terms on which they ask for the treaty; and the demos having referred these matters to the Oracle at Didyma, the god delivered an oracle revealing that it will be better for us to make a treaty with the Herakleots, the Milesians have resolved: In order that everything be carried out with the gods' good will advantageously for both cities under the guidance of

Apollo's counsel, the prophet and the comptroller associated with him in the sanctuary shall make sacrifices and processions of victims to Apollo Didymeus, Artemis, Leto, Athena, and Zeus Soter; likewise the stephanephor and his associates to Apollo Delphinios; and the prytanes and the men chosen for the watch with the priest and the sacred herald to Hestia Bûlaia, praying that the resolutions be advantageous to the demos of the Milesians and to the demos of the Herakleots . . .

Comment. See pp. 104, 112, 129, 163.

13 (Rob. 26) After 130 B.C.
C. Archons and demos of the Milesians.
Occ. Building of Apollo's temple (xx).
Q. Not stated.
R. The construction of the temple should be completed [?].
Mode A1, Topic 1a
Testimony—Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 47 = *SEG* 4.452, lines 6–15.

Text.

. . .
λόγος Φαίδωνος τοῦ Σωπόλιος α[ἱρεθέν-]
τος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προνοε[ῖν τῆς οἰκοδομίας]
[το]ῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δι[δυμέως κατὰ]
[τὸ] γραφὲν ψήφισμα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρ[χόν-]
10 των καὶ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τ[ὸν ἐγδεδομέ-]
[ν]ον χρησμ[ὸν] περὶ τῆς ο[ἰκοδομίας τοῦ να-]
οῦ τῶν γεγενημένω[ν ἔργων ἀπὸ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ]
Ταυρεῶνος ἕως τοῦ [μηνὸς τοῦ ——ῶ-]
[ν]ος ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ [θ]εοῦ π[αίδων τεταγμέ-]
15 [ν]ων ὑπὸ ἡγουμέ[νους ——] . . .

. . . Account of Phaidon Sopolis' son, chosen by the demos to oversee the construction of the temple of Apollo Didymeus in accordance with the decree passed by the archons and the demos with respect to the oracle delivered concerning the construction of the temple, of the works done from the month of Taureon to the month of [?] by the god's slaves under the direction of foremen . . .

Comment. The response apparently reflects a desire of the Didymaean priesthood at this time that the Milesian government put more effort into the construction and completion of the temple. Reference to this response is restored in *DI* 46.11, inscribed a few years later (Rob. 27).

14 (Rob. 28) Late second century B.C.
C. The Milesians or Andronikos Potamon's son, superintendent of temple construction (and companions—builders, kinsmen?).
Occ. Perhaps earthquake or floods (i).

Q. Not stated.

R. Propitiate Asphaleos Poseidon with sacrifices under this epithet and ask him to come propitiously and to preserve the order of your city in stability, free from danger; for he comes quickly near to you. You must beware of him and pray to him, so that hereafter you may reach old age without experience of ills.

Mode A1, Topic 1a

Direct, verse—Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 132.2–7

Text. Θεὸς ἔχρησεν·
Ἀσφάλεον θυσίαισι Ποσειδάωνα ἱλάσασθε
τῶιδε ἐπὶ σημείωι καὶ αἰτεῖσθ' ἵλαον ἱκνεῖσθαι
σῶζειν θ' ὑμετέρης κόσμον πόλεως ἀσάλευτον
ἐκτὸς κινδύνου· μάλα γὰρ πέλας ἵεται ὑμῶν.
ὃν χρὴ καὶ πεφυλάχθαι ἀρᾶσθαί θ' ὡς μετέπειτα
πρὸς γῆρας βαίνητε κακῶν ἀδαήμονες ὄντες.
Τεταμιευκὼς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
Ἀνδρόνικος Ποτάμωνος
ἐπιστατῶν τῆς οἰκοδομίας
τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ
Διδυμέως κατὰ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν
δωρεὰν ἐφ' ἔτη δέκα,
Ἀσφαλέωι Σωτῆρι Ποσειδάωνι μεγίστωι
ἱερὰ καλὰ ἱερῶν ταυροθύτοις θυσίαις
οὗ ἕνεκεν Ποτάμωνος ὁ φὺς ῥίζης ἀπ' ἐκείν[ης]
βωμὸν λαίνεον τόνδε ἀνέθηκε θεῶι.

The god said, "Propitiate Asphaleos Poseidon [etc.; *R* above]." And Andronikos Potamon's son, having served as comptroller also in the sanctuary, superintendent of the construction of Apollo Didymeus' temple according to his promise without pay for ten years, consecrating fine victims in ox-sacrifices TO Asphaleos Soter Poseidon greatest, wherefore Potamon's son from that stock has dedicated this stone altar to the god.

Comment. Lines 14–17 are expressed in elegiac distichs, a dedicatory epigram. In the second line of the response *τῶιδε ἐπὶ σημείωι*, "at this sign," means apparently that the god will be worshiped with the epithet Asphaleos.

The second person in the oracular verses is plural throughout, so that we may suppose that if Andronikos is the inquirer, Apollo addresses him with a second person plural meant for all Milesians. It is also conceivable that Apollo addresses Andronikos' family or his workmen, as well as Andronikos himself; they could have been joint consultants. Or it may be that the Milesians were the consultants, and that Andronikos undertook the con-

struction of Poseidon's altar. The response appears to direct the founding of a new cult rather than the propitiation of an established god.

Rehm, probably correctly, supposed that Miletos had recently suffered from earthquakes (line 4) or from floods of the Maeander River (line 5). Poseidon as the god of earthquakes and of waters is the deity to propitiate when such phenomena occur. Yet it is possible to take lines 4–5 metaphorically. Poseidon should be asked to keep the *kosmos* of the Milesians steady and free from danger. In line 5, *πέλας ἵεται ὑμῶν* could refer to a friendly disposition of Poseidon toward the Milesians. See pp. 96, 102, 145–46. Robert 1968: 570–571.

15 (Rob. 29) Circa 100 B.C.
C. Lochos Lochos' son, by birth Xenokrates' son.
Occ., Q. Not stated.
R. Dedicate it to Apollo Delios, ruler of Kalymna.
Mode A1, Topic 1b
Testimony—Inscription of Kos, *ICos* 60.

Text.

Ἀπόλλωνι [Δα]λίῳ Καλύμνας
μεδέοντι κ[ατ]ὰ χρησζμὸν
Διδυμέως Λό[χο]ς Λόχου, φύσ[ει]
δὲ Ξενοκράτους . . .

To Delian Apollo, ruler of Kalymna, according to an oracle of [Apollo] Didymeus, Lochos Lochos' son, by birth Xenokrates' son [made this dedication] . . .

16 (Rob. 30) Reign of Nikomedes III of Bithynia (127–94)
C. Poet of the *Periêgêsis*.
Occ. The poet's desire to visit a king of Bithynia, probably Nikomedes III (xvii).
Q. Probably whether it is better to make the visit (14).
R. He should visit the king.
Mode A1, Topic 3e
Testimony—Pseudo-Skymnos *Periêg.* 50–64.

Text.

ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούων διότι τῶν νῦν βασιλέων
μόνος βασιλικὴν χρηστότητα προσφέρεις
πεῖραν ἐπεθύμησ' αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἐμαυτοῦ λαβεῖν
καὶ παραγενέσθαι καὶ τί βασιλεύς ἐστ' ἰδεῖν
ἵν' αὐτὸς ἑτέροις πάλιν ἐπαγγέλλειν ἔχω.
διὸ τῇ προθέσει σύμβουλον ἐξελεξάμην
τὸν συγκατορθώσαντα καὶ τῷ σῷ πατρὶ
τὰ τῆς βασιλείας πρότερον ὡς ἀκούομεν,

παρὰ σοί τε βασιλεῦ γνησίως τιμωμένον
κατὰ πάντα, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν Διδυμῆ λέγω,
τὸν καὶ θεμιστεύοντα καὶ μουσηγέτην,
οὗ δὴ σχεδὸν μάλιστα καὶ πεπεισμένος
πρὸς σὴν κατὰ λόγον ἦκα, κοινὴν γὰρ σχεδὸν
τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσιν ἀναδέδειχας ἑστίαν·
θεὸς δὲ συνεφάψαιτο τῇ προαιρέσει.

And hearing that of contemporary kings you alone show kingly quality, I wanted to have experience of it in person and to come into your presence and see what a king is, that I might be able to inform others in my turn. Therefore I chose as adviser for my design the regulator of the kingdom's affairs—for your father too on earlier occasions, as I have heard, and, your majesty, genuinely honored in your house in all ways—I mean Apollo Didymeus, lawgiver and leader of the Muses, in accordance with whose response, to which I am entirely obedient, I have come; for you have offered a nearly common hearth to the learned, and may the god join you in your purpose.

Comment. The poet was not Skymnos (*flor.* 185 B.C.) and made no claim to be; therefore we can believe that he is talking about his own consultation of Apollo at Didyma. The poet refers (56–57) to responses spoken to or for Nikomedes II (149–127), presumably by Apollo Didymeus. See p. 104.

17 (Rob. 36) First century A.D.
C., Occ., Q. Not stated.
R. Tryphosa shall be prophetess.
Mode A1, Topic 1d
Testimony—Inscription of Didyma, Tuchelt 1980: 170 (Günther).

Text.

[Ὑ]δροφόρος Ἀρτέμιδος Πυθίη[ς]
Πλαταινὶς Μέλανος ἡ καλουμένη
Τρυφῶσα, μήμης προφήτιδος
Τρυφώσης, ἣν ὁ θεὸς χρησσμῶι
κατέστησε, προφητεύοντος
Κλαυδίου Χάρμου νεωτέρου.

Hydrophor of Artemis Pythie, Platainis Melas' daughter, called Tryphosa, whose grandmother is the prophetess Tryphosa, whom the god appointed in an oracle, when Claudius Charmus the younger was prophet.

Comment. See pp. 55–56.

18 (Rob. 40) Circa 100 A.D.
C., Occ. Unknown.

Q. Apparently whether the construction of an hypaethral gymnasium and bath will be acceptable (1).

R. To you [*or* to those] who build with forethought . . . I shall declare this . . . beforehand . . . is built in sunshine . . . down from [*or* upon?] altar.

Mode A1, Topic 1a

Direct, verse—Inscription of Miletos, *Milet* 1.9.345.9–13

Text. [——ἐρωτᾶι· Ἐ]πεὶ ἑκὼν τὰ / ——ς ἀποκειμε̣/——ινου γυμνᾰσί̣/
[ου —— βωμ]ὸν? ἐν ὑπαίθρ//[ωι ——] βαλανείου ἀπ̣ο̣/ —— αὐτοῖς ἐν πολ̣/
[λοῖς? ——]ον κεχαρισμέ̣/[νον ἔσται —— ; Θε]ὸς ἔχρησεν.
[—— τ]εύχουσι προνοία[ι]
[—— ταῦ]τ' ἀγορεύσω·
—— προπάροιθεν
[—— ἀκ]τῖσι τέτυκτα[ι]
[—— κα]τὰ βωμοῦ.

4 *βωμὸν* sugg. Robinson: *τ]ὸν ἐν ὑπαίθρωι* Rehm

[Someone] asks, "Since willingly . . . of the gymnasium . . . altar in open air . . . of the bath . . . to them in many . . . will it be acceptable?" The god replied, "To you [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. See p. 86.

19 (Rob. 41) Circa 120 A.D.

C. Builders of the Milesian theatre.

Occ. Proposed work on the theatre (ix).

Q. Shall they undertake the placing of the arches and vaulting and carry it through, or should they consider another task? (1)

R. It is advantageous to you, praying to Pallas Tritogeneia and to valiant Herakles with sacrifices, to make use of the building skills and the counsels of an able and excellent man.

Mode A2 (A1), Topic 1b

Direct, verse—Inscription of Miletos, *SBA* (1904): 83 = W. H. Buckler, "Labour Disputes in the Province of Asia," *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* (Manchester University Press; London, New York: Longmans, Green, 1923) 35, lines 9–12.

Text. Οἱ οἰκοδόμοι οἱ περὶ Ε——νι[—— καὶ?]
Ἐπίγονον, ἐργολάβοι τοῦ μέρους τοῦ
θεάτρου οὗ ἐργεπιστατεῖ ὁ προφήτης
[θε]ρ̣ῦ Οὐλπιανὸς ἥρως, ἐργοδοτεῖ ὁ ἀρ-
χιτέκτων Μηνόφιλος, τὰ εἰλήμα[τα]
[κ]αὶ τὰ τετ[ρ]άετα κατὰ τῶν κειόνων
περιειλῶσιν καὶ ἐνέγκουσ[ιν ἢ] ἄλλην ἐρ-
γοδοσίαν σκεπτῶνται; Θεὸς ἔχρησεν·
Ἐμπεράμοις πινύταις δωμήσεσιν εὐτέκναις τε

10 ***εὐπαλάμου φωτός τε ὑποθημοσύναισι φερίστου***
χρῆσθαι σύμφορόν ἐστι λιταιομένοις θυσίαισι
Παλλάδα Τριτογένειαν ἰδ' ἄλκιμον Ἡρακλ[ῆα.]
7 *ἐνεγκούσ*[*ης ἢ*] Buckler

Shall E——, Epigonos, and the builders, contractors for the part of the theatre of which the superintendent is the god's prophet, the late Ulpianus, whose employer is the architect Menophilos, undertake the placing of the arches [etc.; *Q* above]? The god replied, "It is advantageous [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. Buckler (*op. cit.* 34–36) sees a labor dispute behind this consultation: Epigonos and his workmen became dissatisfied for some reason with the work that they had contracted to do, and so asked the god whether they should complete it, "And should they consider employment given by their native city or employment of some other kind?" Buckler restores the genitive of *enenkousa* in line 7, understanding it in the late and rare meaning of "native city"; see, e.g., Marc. Aur. 4.48. The able man that the response refers to is an expert adviser or arbitrator, who would hear the arguments on both sides and make a decision. This is a possible interpretation even without Buckler's restoration in line 7.

But the issue can also be interpreted as the contractors' uncertainty about what task to undertake first or next; perhaps they had some argument with the superintendent, Ulpianus, or with the architect, Menophilos, about what work should be undertaken next, and put the question to the god to find out what was pleasing to him concerning the work to be done immediately. Or the contractors may have had some pious scruple about the first task to be undertaken and wanted the god's confirmation. The able and excellent man to whom the god referred them may have been Menophilos, the architect and employer. They were to do as he directed them. It could not be Ulpianus, if he had died in the meantime, unless his name was Ulpianus Heros, as Rehm and Buckler thought. But that is a very uncommon name, if used at all, and *hêrôs* in the inscriptions of this period means "deceased" (and so Robert 1968: 581 takes the word in this inscription).

I take the genitive *εὐπαλάμου φωτός* with both *δωμήσεσιν* and *ὑποθημοσύναισι*, though the *τε . . . τε* coordination places it only with the latter; but frequently in Greek poetry a common modifier or other word is expressed only with the second member of a coordinate construction, before (if, e.g., *te*) or after (if, e.g., *kai*) the second coordinate conjunction rather than the coordinated word or phrase. See pp. 156, 163.

20 (Rob. 42) Circa 130 A.D.
C. Appheion, also called Heronas, of Alexandria.
Occ. Desire for good performance (xvii).
Q. Since his ancestral gods and you yourself always stand by him in any

work he performs, he therefore asks you, Lord, whether he will come off honorably as always in the *akrônycha* and the *taurodidaxia*, and whether he will serve honorably (10).

R. Pray to Phoibos and the swift eye of Sarapis ineffable and Nemesis, who oversees athletes [?] on race-courses, and you will have them as helpers for your designs.

Mode A1, Topic 1b

Direct, verse—Inscription of Miletos, *Milet* 1.7.205a = L. Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques*, Bibl. Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Sciences Hist. et Philol., 272 (Paris: Champion, 1938) 106, lines 10–12.

Text.

1–2 Ἀπφείων ἐρωτᾷ ὁ καὶ Ἡρωνᾶς Ἀλε/ξανδρεύς·
Ἐπεὶ πάντοτε οἵ τε πάτριοι θεοὶ αὐτοῦ
παρίστωνται καὶ σὺ αὐτὸς ἐν ᾧ ἀπάγι
5 ἔργῳ, διὰ τοῦτο δεῖταί σου δέσποτα
εἰ ἐνδόξως ὡς πάντοτε ἀπαλλάξει ἔν
τε τοῖς ἀκρωνύχοις καὶ τῇ ταυροδιδα-
ξίᾳ καὶ εἰ ἐνδόξως ὑπηρέτήσει.
Ὁ Διδυμεὺς ἐθέσπισεν·
10 **Φοῖβον καὶ θοὸν ὄμμα Σαράπιδος ἀρρήτοιο**
καὶ Νέμεσιν σταδίοισιν ἐπίσκοπον ἀ[θλητάων?]
λισσόμενος βουλαῖσι τεαῖς ἐπαρηγόνας ἕξεις.

1–2 *ξανδρεύς* is placed above Ἀλε; nothing precedes it.

Appheion, also called Heronas, Alexandrian, asks, "Since his ancestral gods [etc.; *Q* above]." Didymeus spoke an oracle, "Pray to Phoibos [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. This record was inscribed in the old Serapeion. This locale and the direction to pray to Serapis along with Apollo and Nemesis perhaps mean that the activities named in the question were performed in connection with the worship of Serapis; but it may be that Appheion, as an Egyptian, is bid address one of his ancestral gods. The *akrônycha* (nailtips) may be the sort of play with tame bulls described in Heliod. *Aith.* 10.20–30, but may mean acrobatic feats. *Taurodidaxia* is taken as the taming and training of bulls for sports. Yet in this inscription it is something in which Appheion wanted to perform creditably as in the *akrônycha*, and so may refer to some kind of sport with bulls. Since in the response Nemesis is called overseer of *stadia/oi*, both terms may refer to some kinds of contests.

Robert suggests that Appheion had had recent disappointments with respect to his performance and turned to Apollo for advice. But Appheion asserts that his ancestral gods and Apollo have always supported him. Certainly his motive for consultation is continued success. See Robert 1968: 578–579, 592–593; Aelian *NA* 7.4; Pliny *NH* 43.70.182; Fr. Boll, *Rh. Mus.* 61 (1906) 472–473. See pp. 91, 164.

21 (Rob. 43) Circa 130 A.D.
C. Karpos.
Occ. A vow to Serapis (xx).
Q. Is it pleasing to Serapis that he fulfill his vow as he has chosen to do it? (14)
R. Immortals rejoice in benevolent honors of mortal men.
Mode D1, Topic 1b (3j)
Direct, verse—Inscription of Miletos, *Milet* 1.7.205b.

Text. Κάρπος ἐρωτᾷ· Εἰ καθὼς προ/ήρηται προσφιλές ἐστιν / τῷ Σεράπι τὴν εὐχὴν τελεῖν./
Ἀθάνατοι χαίρουσι βροτῶν // εὐεργέσι τειμαῖς.

Karpos asks whether it is pleasing [etc.; *Q* above]. [The god replied,] "Immortals rejoice [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. This was inscribed in the Serapeion on the same stone as R20. This consultation illustrates the kind of business usually referred to Oracles. Karpos had decided upon the acts by which he would fulfill his vow to Serapis. Some question arose, perhaps raised by a member of his family, perhaps by the priest of Serapis, whether that was the right action to take, and so he scrupulously referred the question to Apollo Didymeus. The god's response, in statement form, seems to accept Karpos' way of fulfillment and to say that any reverent way of honoring the gods is satisfactory. See pp. 91, 104; Robert 1968: 576, 594, 597.

22 (Rob. 48) Second century A.D.
C. Alexandra, priestess of Demeter Thesmophoros.
Occ. Manifestations of the gods during her term as priestess (vii).
Q. Since from the time when she assumed the office of priestess never have the gods been so manifest through their appearances, partly through maidens and women, partly also through men and children, why is this, and is it auspicious? (11)
R. Immortals accompany mortal men . . . and make their will known and the honor which . . . [the rest is lost].
Mode D1, Topic 1d
Direct, verse—Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 496A.8–10.

Text.

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ
Ἡ ἱέρεια τῆς Θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος Ἀλεξάνδρα
ἐρωτᾷ· Ἐπεὶ ἐξότε τὴν ἱερατείαν ἀνείληφεν, οὐ-
δέποτε οὕτως οἱ θεοὶ ἐνφανεῖς δι' ἐπιστάσεων
γεγένηνται, τοῦτο μὲν διὰ παρθένων καὶ γυ-
ναικῶν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ δι' ἀρρένων καὶ νηπίων,
τί τὸ τοιοῦτο καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ αἰσίῳ; Θεὸς ἔχρη[σε·]

Ἀθάνατοι μερόπεσσιν ἅμ' ἐρχόμενοι πι——
[γνώ]μην φράζ[ου]σι καὶ ἣν τειμὴν——
——ινοον εἰθ——

To Good Fortune. The priestess of Thesmophoros Demeter, Alexandra, asks, "Since from the time [etc.; *Q* above]." The god replied, "Immortals accompany mortal men [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. See pp. 91, 104, 108; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11/12 (Paris, 1960): 543–546.

23 (Rob. 49) Second century A.D.
C. Alexandra, priestess of Demeter Thesmophoros.
Occ. Perhaps the same as R22 (vii ?).
Q. Unknown.
R. All mortals must honor Deo, mother of a fair daughter, fruitful mother of food dear to mortal men, with sacrifices and prayers. For it is she who first produced a wheat-bearing crop on earth and ended mortal men's beastlike and savage spirit, when, living in mountain caves, they had gluttonous fare in raw-meat-eating jaws. And especially the fellow-citizens of javelin-holding Neileus [must honor her]. For they still have signs of divine high birth in their performance of the rites of Deo and daughter Deois here. Therefore you [Alexandra], who have with secret devotional honor shown yourself a seeker of the goal of a principled course of life and performed the rites of Eumolpos—— [the rest is lost].
Mode A1, Topic 1b
Direct, verse—Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 496B = *ZPE* 7 (1971) 207–208 (W. Peek).

Text.

Θεὸς ἔχρη[σε·]
Δηὼ καλλιθύγατρα φίλης μερόπεσσιν ἐδω[δῆς]
μητέρα καρποθάλειαν ἐυλλιστοῖσι θυήλαις
χρὴ δὴ πᾶν τείειν βρότεον γένος· ἥδε γάρ ἐστ[ιν]
ἣ πρώτη φερέπυρον ἐπὶ χθόνα καρπὸν ἀνεῖσ[α]
θηροδίαιτον ἔπαυσε βροτῶν καὶ ἀνήμερον ἦτορ,
ἦμος ὅτ' αὐτορόφοισιν ὑπ' οὔρεσι ναιετάοντε[ς]
ὠμοβόροις γενύεσιν ἀδηφάγον εἶχον ἐδωδήν,
ἔξοχα δ' αὖ Νειλῆος ἀκοντοδόκου ναετῆρας·
τοῖσι γὰρ εὐγενίης ζαθέης ἔτι σύμβολα ῥέζ[ειν]
Δηοῦς καὶ κούρης Δηωίδος ὄργια τῇδε.
τοὔνεκα δὴ σὺ μὲν ἀρρήτῳ θεραπηί[δι τειμῇ]
[ἣ] τέλος εὐσταθίης βιότου μετιοῦ[σα φαάνθης]
[ὄργιά τ' Εὐ]μόλποιο——

The god replied, "All mortal men must honor Deo [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. The response text reproduced here is that of W. Peek, *loc. cit.*

This response is apparently not part of R22, which is inscribed on the front face of the anta block on the left side of which *DI* 496B is inscribed, headed by Θεὸς ἔχρησε, indicating a different response. The question was probably inscribed on the block placed above. The response would seem to be an answer to a question about either what deity the consultant should honor or whether Demeter and Kore should be honored. But these would be strange questions for a priestess of Demeter to ask; and lines 11–13 seem to indicate that the priestess Alexandra was the recipient of this oracle. R23 may have been spoken on the same day as R22 and in the same consultation. See pp. 104, 148; Robinson 1981: 249–253.

24 (Rob. 56) Circa 190–200 A.D.

C. A woman.

Occ. (A) Unknown. (B) Order to appease Hera (xx).

Q. (A) Unknown. (B) Since in your holy oracle you told her to appease Hera, which Hera should she appease? (2)

R. (A)Appease Hera.

(B) Where old age, venerable for its many years, has been wont to bathe its honored and aged bodies, where unwedded maids form their dance rhythmically to the tuneful melody of a flute, at the halls of an effeminate man, worship Hera.

Mode A1, Topic 1b

Direct, verse (B), Indirect (A)—Inscription of Didyma (?), *DI* 501 = IMagn 228, lines 2, 4–10.

Text. [Ἡ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος ἐρωτᾷ· Ἐπεὶ χρησμῷ σῷ θείῳ]
αὐτῇ εἶπας **Ἥραν ἱλάσασθαι**, ποίαν
ἱλάσηται; Θεὸς ἔχρησεν·
Ἔνθα μακροῖσι χρονοισι σεβάσμιος // εἴθισεν αἰὼν
λουτροῖσιν χρῆσθαι τε/τιημένα σώματα γήρως,
οὗ χόρον / ἱστᾶσιν κοῦραι θαλάμων ἀμύητοι /
εὐρύθμως δωτοῖο πρὸς εὔφθογγον / μέλος ἡδύ,
θηλυπρεποῦς φωτὸς // μελάθροις Ἥραν προσεβάζου.
1 Rehm's conjectural restoration except for σῷ: τῷ Rehm: σῷ see *DI* 504.18 (R31) 2 ποῖ ἂν Robert 8 δωτοῖο for λωτοῖο

[A woman] asks, "Since in your holy oracle [etc.; *Q* above]." The god replied, "Where old age [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. The inscription was found at Sarykemer on the Maeander delta where the shoreline of the Latmic Gulf used to be. O. Kern took it to be an inscription of Magnesia-on-Maeander. PW 467 include this response in their corpus of Delphic oracles, though granting that it might have been spoken at Didyma or Klaros; and I included it in my Catalogue of Delphic Responses (H67) with some misgivings.

There can now be little question that this is a Didymaean response. The

introductory Θεὸς ἔχρησεν, followed by direct quotation in hexameters, is characteristic of the records of Didymaean responses after the revival of the Oracle, and so is the manner in which it follows a quotation of the question in the third person; see R5, 6, 14, 19, 22, 23, 27, 30, 31 (restored in R28). This never occurs in the records of Delphic Historical responses. Six Delphic records that refer to oracular responses have ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε(ν), but in five of them (H36, 38–40, 62) these words introduce an indirect form, and in the other (H35) they follow *kathoti*, indicating that a sacrifice was made in accordance with the god's instruction. Out of 535 extant responses attributed to Delphi (or considered to be Delphic) only five directly quoted Legendary responses have this formula as introduction with or without the article (L48, 55/56, 165, 166, 171). Some Delphic responses are introduced with Ἀπόλλων ἔχρησε(ν) or ἡ Πυθία ἔχρησε(ν) (subject and verb may be reversed); but it is evident that in Delphic records *chrênai* is no more than a synonym of *anairein*, *helein*, *thespizein*, *manteuein*, *chrêstêriazein*, *chrêsmôdein*, *apokrinesthai*, *legein*, and a number of other verbs commonly used to denote mantic utterance. But for the inscribed Historical responses of Didyma there is hardly an exception to the introduction with Θεὸς ἔχρησε(ν). R20 has Ὁ Διδυμεὺς ἐθέσπισεν, and before 494 B.C. the formula appears to have been Θεὸς εἶπεν (R2, 3).

In question (B), it seems to me, ποίαν must be read rather than ποῖ ἄν (Robert 1968: 578 with note 1) in the sense "where should she appease Hera?" The verb ἱλάσηται represents a deliberative subjunctive in the first person of the direct question, with which *an* is never used in any instance that I have seen; Robert is surely mistaken in saying *an* seems indispensable with this subjunctive. He also asserts that the response answers the question "where shall she appease Hera?", not "which Hera . . . ?" But the inquirer's meaning is "at which of Hera's shrines," and the response tells her. Furthermore one would expect *pou* rather than *poi* if the meaning is "at what place?" Either way, it seems to me, the question formula is essentially 2, "How shall I appease Hera?"

In line 2 of the verse response I believe that *tetiêmena* has the meaning of *tetimêmena*, "honored." The verb *tetiêsthai*, "to sorrow," is found only in the Homeric epics and Hesiod; and it is unlikely that Hellenes would refer to old men's bodies as sorrowful, since they always had great respect for the old. The poet, I think, had the verb *tiein* in mind, but instead of forming the perfect passive participle regularly as *tetimena*, he formed it on the model of *tetimêmena* from the synonymous *timaein*; the quantity of the iota forbids our supposing that the first mu of *tetimêmena* was omitted by the poet or engraver. See p. 164.

25 (Rob. 57) Second century A.D.?
C. Milesians.
Occ. Appointment of a priestess of Athena Polias (xxi).

Q. Not stated, but probably either "Whom should we appoint priestess of Athena Polias?" (8) or "Is it better that we appoint Satorneila priestess of Athena Polias [with possible added clause], although she is a married woman?" (14)

R. You are late, citizens, in coming to hear the mantic voice concerning a priestess of Kratogeneia [Athena], who burst through the head of her wise father and leaped in armored dance in the house of the immortals, whence it has been her lot to govern manifold citadels, a good helper for cities, and in crafts a skillful overseer for illustrious workmen. For it has been required that a woman from a noble family receive the office of priestess of the self-appearing maiden, but she [Satorneila] first took a share of Aphrogeneia's [Aphrodite's] gifts. Kypris [Aphrodite] vies with maiden Atrytone [Athena]; for one has no part in marriage or love, while the other flourishes in tuneful wedding songs. Therefore, in obedience to the Moirai and Pallas, appoint reverend Satorneila priestess, bearer of sacred utensils.

Mode A1 (D1), Topic 1d

Direct, verse—Inscription of Miletos, *Chiron* 1 (1971) 292 (P. Herrmann) = *ZPE* 8 (1971) 93–94 (R. Merkelbach) = Drew-Bear and Lebek 1973; 65, lines 10–26.

Text. [——Σατορνείλαν τὴν ἀξιολο-]
γωτάτην [ἀρχιέρεια]ν τῶν Σεβασ[τῶν]
συνγενίδα συ[νκλη]τικῶν καὶ ἀ[σιάρ-]
χων Ἀσίας καὶ ἀ[ρχιερ]είων, καὶ ἱέρε[ιαν]
διὰ βίου τῆς πρ[ὸ πόλε]ως Πολιάδο[ς Ἀ-]
θηνάς αἱρεθ[εῖσαν] ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀφε[υδε-]
στάτου θεοῦ Διὸ[υμέω]ς Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ[ὶ]
σωφροσύνῃ καὶ [σεμν]ότητι ὑπὸ τῶν θ[εί-]
ων αὐτοῦ λογίων καὶ ἐνκωμιασθεῖσαν ο[ὖ-]
τως·

(1) **Ὀψὲ μέν ὦ ναέται ζακόρου περὶ Κρατο/γενείης**
ὀμφῆς μαντιπόλοιο θεοκλυτέ/οντες ἴκεσθε,
ἣ κορυφὴν δήξασα περισωφρό/νος [οὗ] γενετῆρος
εἰνόπλιον σκιρτ[ῶσ]α παρ' ἀθα/νάτοισι χόρευσεν,
(5) **ἔνθεν παντοί[ας ἐφ]έπειν λά//χεν ἀκροπόληας,**
ἔσθλὴ{ν} μὲν πο[λίεσ]σι βοηθό[ος, ἐν δὲ τέχναισιν
εὐπάλαμος κλ[ειτο]ῖσιν ἐπι/στάτις ἐργοπόνοισιν·
αὐτοφαν[οῦς κούρ]ης γὰρ / ἐχρῆν ἱερηίδα τείμην
θηλυτέρην δέξασθαι / ἀφ' αἵματος εὐγενετήρων·
(10) **//ἀλλ' ἐπὶ αἶσαν ἑλεῖν / γεράων φθάσεν Ἀφρογενείης.**
δη[ρ]ιᾷ δὲ Κύπρις / ποτὶ παρθένον Ἀτρυτώνην·
ἡ μὲν γὰρ θαλά/μοιο καὶ {οὐκ} ἔστ' ἀμύητος ἔρωτος,
ἡ δὲ γά/μοισι τέθηλε καὶ εὐκελάδοις ὑμεναίοις./

25 ***τοίγαρ πειθόμενοι Μοίραις καὶ Παλλάδι // σεμνὴν***
(15) ***Σατορνείλαν θέσθε ἱερηφόρον ἀ/ρήτειραν.***
Μᾶρκοι Αὐρήλιοι Ἑρμείας καὶ
Μιννίων οἱ Ἑρμείου *τὴν γλυκυτάτην μη-*
τέρα.
Εὐτυχῶς.

(3) *ῥήξασ(α) ἐρισώφρονος* Merkelbach [*οὖ*] Drew-Bear, Lebek : [*ἐκ*]*γενετῆρος* Fredrich : [*εὖ*]*γενετῆρος* Merkelbach (5) *παντοί*[*αν* Merkelbach (8) *αὐτοφαν*[*οῦς κούρ*]*ης* Merkelbach : *αὐτοφαν*[*ῶν γενε*]*ῆς*? Herrmann (10) *φθάσ(ε) ἢ* Merkelbach. All other restorations were made by Herrmann.

[. . . honor Satorneila,] most worthy high priestess of the Emperors, kinswoman of senators and asiarchs of Asia and high priestesses, and high priestess for life of Athena Polias before the city, chosen by the most unerring god, Apollo Didymeus, for her prudence and dignity by his divine utterances, and praised as follows: "You are late, citizens, [etc.; *R* above]." Marcus Aurelius Hermias and Marcus Aurelius Minnion, sons of Hermias, [honor] their sweetest mother. With good luck.

Comment. This is the longest known Didymaean Historical response. As Drew-Bear and Lebek (1973) remark, this is a good poetic composition (as the poet wrote it; apparently the engraver was responsible for the metrical lapses in lines 3 and 12 of the response). They make a translation of it (p. 71), with which I differ in a few respects. For 8–10 they translate, "for it was necessary that the honor of the priesthood of the self-appearing maiden be received by a woman with the blood of noble ancestors, but after she had previously obtained her share of the gifts of Aphrodite." But the inscribed text does not seem to support that interpretation, which would seem to require either a relative pronoun or a temporal conjunction to introduce the *φθάσεν* clause after *ἀλλ(ά)*. Hence Merkelbach proposed *φθάσ(ε) ἢ* for *φθάσεν*, and Drew-Bear and Lebek take *ἐπὶ* as an iotacized spelling of *ἐπεὶ*. But *ἐπὶ . . . ἑλεῖν* is in tmesis for *ἐφελεῖν*; the meaning is as I have translated it above. Lines 8–9 state the requirement of noble birth, which Satorneila had; but she had been married and borne sons, and the traditional requirement was the appointment of a virgin priestess for the virgin goddess. Hence the Milesians wanted approval of Satorneila as Athena's priestess and received it from Apollo Didymeus. Lines 11–13 are meant to reconcile the two goddesses, Athena and Aphrodite, as representing two phases of a woman's life; the complete woman is a fitting ministress of Athena.

Drew-Bear and Lebek consider Satorneila a widow, interpreting *πειθόμενοι Μοίραις* (14) as alluding to her husband's death, but the words need not be taken that way. More likely, Apollo is saying that Satorneila's appointment as Athena's priestess is foreordained by the Moirai, and that the Mile-

sians should obey them, as well as Athena, who in some way has shown her approval of Satorneila. See pp. 100–101, 151; Robinson 1981: 253–258.

26 (Rob. 79) Third century A.D.?
C. Hermias.
Occ., *Q.* Not stated.
R. Make a thank-offering to Zeus Hypsistos.
Mode A1, Topic 1b
Testimony—Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 129.

Text. Ἑρμίας Δ[ιὶ] / Ὑψίστῳ / κατὰ χρη/σμὸν / εὐχαρι//στήριον.

Hermias to Zeus Hypsistos, a thank-offering in accordance with an oracle.

Comment. See p. 143.

27 (Rob. 78) Early third century A.D.?
C. Hermias Epagathos' son, comptroller.
Occ. Lack of visibility of Tyche's altar (xx).
Q. Since the altar of Tyche in your sanctuary is enclosed in the so-called *paradeisos*, where houses have been built around it, and on that account many people do not see it, is it better and preferable and pleasing to the goddess that this altar also be placed in the altar circle with the other gods or is it not? (14)
R. You must honor all blessed deities and reverence all.
Mode A1, Topic 1b
Direct, verse—Inscription of Didyma, Tuchelt 1971: 98, 99, lines 15–17 (Günther).

Text. Ταμίας Ἑρμίας ἐρωτᾷ· / Ἐπεὶ ὁ τῆς Τύχης βωμὸς / τῆς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
5 σου συν/κέκλειται ἐν τῷ λεγομέ//νῳ παραδείσῳ περιοικο/δομημέ-
νων αὐτῷ οἰκι/ῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολ/λοῖς οὐ θεωρεῖται, πότε/ρον
10 λῷον καὶ ἄμεινον // τῇ τε θεῷ προσφιλὲς με/τὰ τῶν λοιπῶν θεῶν καὶ
/ τοῦτον τὸν βωμὸν πε/ριβωμίζεσθαι ἢ μή; / Ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν·
15–17 **//Πάντας χρὴ τειμᾶν μά/καρας πάντας τε σέβεσ/θαι.**
Ταμίας εὐσε/βὴς Ἑρμίας Ἐπαγάθου.

Comptroller Hermias asks, "Since the altar of Tyche [etc.; *Q* above]." The god replied, "You must honor [etc.; *R* above]." Pious comptroller Hermias Epagathos' son.

Comment. The response is obviously an approval of including Tyche's altar in the *peribômismos*, the altar circle. This appears to be the same Hermias as the inquirer of R28 and is probably the Hermias of R26. A comptroller Hermias Epagathos' son is mentioned in *DI* 348, but the date of the inscription may be considerably earlier. See p. 162.

28 (Rob. 77) Early third century A.D.?
C. Hermias, comptroller.
Occ. Unknown.
Q. Is it pleasing to the god that we [celebrate a festival or perform rites] on the customary days annually as formerly? (14)
R. It is better to perform it according to ancestral custom.
Mode A2, Topic 1b
Direct, verse—Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 499.

Text. [Τ]αμίας Ἑρμ[ίας ἐρωτᾷ· Εἰ προσφιλές ἐ[στι τῷ θεῷ —— τὰς ——] ἡμέρας κα[θάπερ καὶ] τάχειον ἐπετε[ίους ——. Θεὸς ἔχρησε·] **[Ἑ]στὶ τελεῖν [πατρικ]ῇ γνώμῃ λῷον κ[αὶ ἄμεινον.]**

I Τ]αμίας Ἑρμ[ίας Günther (Tuchelt 1971: 100 note 12) Σιμ]μίας Ἑρμ[ίου Rehm

Comptroller Hermias asks whether it is pleasing to the god [etc.; *Q* above]. The god replied, "It is better [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. The question could be, as Rehm suggested, "Is it pleasing to the god to continue to celebrate the festival annually or more often [or more seldom]?" The response is close in meaning to R2. Probably Didyma often told the inquirer to follow ancestral custom. Perhaps a proposal to change the time of the festival or ritual or its frequency led to this consultation. The response appears to say that no change should be made. See pp. 91, 104.

29 (Rob. 65–66) Third century A.D.
C. The prophet Titus Flavius Ulpianus.
Occ. Apparently concern with altars and sacrifices (xx).
Q. (A) On this matter.
R. (A) Like a wide tree you have thriving branches and you pasture sheep of thick wool. So it is right that I respond again to your question. Yea, having obeyed my oracles, augmenting your god-trusting wisdom with former ordinances and former responses, you have set your mind on altars for sacrifices.
Mode D1, Topic 1b
Q. (B) Where shall he place the holy table, honoring the god correctly——? (2)
R. (B) Missing.
Direct, verse (A)—Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 277.13–20.
Testimony (B)—*ibid.* 21–23.

Text.
[Προφήτης αὐτ]επ[ά]νγελτος εὐσε-
[βὴς Τ. Φλ. ο]ὐλπιανὸς . . .
. . . (lines 3–8)
. . . ᾧ κ' ὁ θε-
10 ὸς διὰ θείων θεσ[πισμ]άτων πολλάκις ἐμαρ-

τύρησεν ἐν [ὄψει καὶ νῦν] ἐν χρηστηρίῳ προσι-
[πὼν αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν ε]ὐσέβειαν οὕτως·
[Εὐρέι δενδρέῳ] ἶσος ἔχεις ἐριθηλέας ὄζους
[βόσκεις τ' εὐπο]κέας ταναοῖς ὑπὸ λήνεσιν οἶ//[ας·]
[τῷ χρῆσαί μ'] εἰσαῦθις ἀνειρομένῳ θεμι/[ς ἐστίν.]
ἀλλὰ σύγ' ἡμετέροισιν ἐπὶ / [χρησμοῖσι πεποι]θὼς
(5) **εὖ μάλ' ἐς εὐσεβίην θε/[οπειθέα μῆτι]ν ἀέξων**
θεσμοῖσιν προτέ/[ροις ἠδὲ προ]τέροις λογίοισιν,
ἀμφὶ θυη//[πολίην βωμ]ῶν πέρι φροντίδα θῆκας.
[Καὶ πάλιν χρω]μένῳ αὐτῷ ποῦ τὴν ἱερὰν
[τράπεζαν στήσει, τι]μῶν αὐτὸν ἀνεπι[σφα-]
[λῶς ——]

9 κ' for *καὶ*

The prophet self-called, pious Titus Flavius Ulpianus . . . to whom the god also bore witness often in divine pronouncements, speaking to him in vision and now in an oracle because of his piety as follows, "Like a wide tree [etc.; *R* above]." And again when he consulted on where he should place the holy table, honoring him correctly ——

Comment. Apparently Ulpianus had seen or heard the god in dreams or visions attesting to his piety (9–11). Lines 16–19 seem to mean that Ulpianus had studied the recorded responses of Apollo and so had gained knowledge of and insight into Apollo's mantic speech. See pp. 98, 103, 104.

30 (Rob. 83) 285–305 A.D.

C. The prophet Damianos.

Occ. Absence of an altar of Soteira Kore in the altar circle of Apollo's temenos (xx).

Q. Since he has not yet seen an altar of your holy sister, his ancestral goddess, Soteira Kore, in your holy altar circle of all gods, and such an omission grieves him as a god-loving man, he asks you, Lord Apollo Didymeus Helios, to tell him whether you allow him to establish beside the altar of Demeter Karpophoros an altar of her daughter (1).

R. Give Soteira Kore the honor of an altar in the altar circle.

Mode A1, Topic 1a

Direct, verse—Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 504.15–16.

Text. [Ἀ]γαθῇ τύχῃ. / Ὁ προφήτης σου Δαμιανὸς ἐρω/τᾷ· Ἐπὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
5 σου καὶ πανθέῳ / περιβωμισμῷ οὐδέπω ὁρᾷ ἱδρυ//μένον βωμὸν τῆς
ἁγιωτάτης / σου ἀδελφῆς, τῆς πατρίου αὐτοῦ / θεᾶς Σωτίρας Κόρης,
φιλόθεον δὲ / αὐτὸν ὄντα λύπι τὸ τοιοῦτον, δῖ/ταί σου, δέσποτα
10 Διδυμεῦ Ἥλιε Ἄ//πολλον, θεσπίσαι αὐτῷ εἰ ἐπιτρέ/πεις αὐτῷ
παρὰ τὸν τῆς Καρποφό/ρου Δήμητρος βωμὸν ἱδρύσασ/σθαι βωμὸν
τῆς παιδὸς αὐτῆς. / Θεὸς ἔχρησεν·
15–16 // **Σωτίρας Κούρης τιμὴν περιβω/μίδα ῥέζε.**

[1–16]

Your prophet Damianos asks, "Since he has not yet seen [etc.; *Q* above]." The god replied, "Give Soteira Kore [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. See pp. 91, 98, 147 and *Comment* on R31.

31 (Rob. 84) 285–305 A.D.
C. The prophet Damianos.
Occ. Receipt of R30 (xx).
Q. Since by your holy oracle you have allowed him to establish in your holy altar circle an altar of his most holy ancestral goddess Soteira Kore beside the altar of the most reverend Demeter Karpotrophos, he asks you to be ordainer of her auspicious and hymnal epithet (12).
R. Let us with holy cries call Soteira Meilichos [Gentle] to meet always with mother Deo.
Mode A1, Topic 1a
Direct, verse—Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 504.29–31.

Text. Ὁ *προφήτης σου Δαμιανὸς ἐ/ρωτᾷ·*
20 *Ἐπὶ χρησμῷ σῷ θείῳ ἐ/πέτρεψας αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ // σου περι-*
βωμισμῷ ἱδρύσασθαι / βωμὸν τῆς ἁγιωτάτης πατρί/ου αὐτοῦ θεᾶς
Σωτίρας Κόρης /παρὰ τὸν τῆς σεβασμιωτάτης / Καρποτρόφου Δήμη-
25 *τρος βωμὸν, // δῖταί σου καὶ τῆς εὐφήμου καὶ ὑ/μνικῆς εἰς αὐτὴν*
προσαγορεύ/σεως αὐτόν σε νομοθέτην / γενέσθαι. Θεὸς ἔχρησεν·/
29–30 ***Σωτίραν κλήζωμεν ὑπ' εὐιέροι//σι βοαῖσι***
30–31 ***μείλιχον ἀντιάειν αἰ/εὶ σὺν μητέρι Δηοι.***
[17–31]

Your prophet Damianos asks, "Since by your holy oracle [etc.; *Q* above]." The god replied, "Let us with holy cries [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. This immediately follows R30 and may have been spoken on the same day in the same session. But since R30 is spoken of as a separate *chrêsmos* in 18–24, it seems better to treat R31 as another response.

Louis Robert supposes that the prophet Damianos was Kyzikene in origin, since he calls Soteira Kore his ancestral goddess, and she was the patron goddess of Kyzikos ("Documents d'Asie Mineure," *BCH* 102 [1978]: 471). But it is unlikely that anyone but a Milesian could hold the office of prophet aside from Roman emperors, who would be honorary citizens of the city. Yet Damianos may have been granted Milesian citizenship; Kyzikos was, after all, a Milesian colony, and he was apparently a resident of Miletos.

See pp. 91, 98, 147; Tuchelt 1971: 100–104 (Günther); Robert 1968: 584. Otto Weinreich, "Hymnologica," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 17 (1914) 524–527, discusses the words *hymnikê* and *euieros*.

32 (Rob. 85) Circa 300 A.D.
C. Probably the Milesians.

Occ., *Q.* Not stated.
R. Erect an altar of Poseidon.
Mode A1, Topic 1a
Testimony—*Milet* 1.6.191 = *SEG* 1.427.

Text. Κατὰ τὸ λόγιον τοῦ / θεοῦ τοῦ Διδυμέ/ος Ἡλίου Ἀπόλλω/νος βωμὸς // Ποσιδῶνος.

According to the oracle of the god Didymeus Helios Apollo an altar of Poseidon.

Comment. R30 and R32 show that in this late period Apollo Didymeus was called Helios. See pp. 113–114.

33 (Rob. 92) 303 A.D.
C. Emperor Diocletian's envoy.
Occ. Proposed persecution of the Christians (xxi).
Q. Not stated.
R. (1) He should persecute the Christians [Lactantius].
(2) The righteous on the earth [Christians] are an impediment to the god's truth-speaking and on this account cause him to speak false responses from the tripods [Constantine].
Mode A1 (D1), Topic 1d
Testimony (1)—Lactantius (Lucius Caecilius) *De mort. pers.* 11, 212–213.
Op. Delphi? Indirect (2)—Constantine, letter *ap.* Ps. Eus. *Vit. Const.* 2.50 (2.50 *capitulum*, 54).

Text. (1) nec sic quidem flexus est imperator ut accomodaret assensum, sed deos potissimum consulere statuit, misitque aruspicem ad Apollinem Milesium. respondit ille ut divinae religionis inimicus; traductus est itaque a proposito. et quoniam nec amicis nec Caesari nec Apollini poterat reluctari, hanc moderationem tenere conatus est . . .

But even so the emperor [Diocletian] was not induced to give his assent, but decided above all to consult the gods and sent a diviner to the Milesian Apollo. The god responded as an enemy of divine religion, and so the emperor was drawn away from his purpose; and since he could not oppose his friends nor Caesar [Galerius] nor Apollo, he tried to keep to this moderate course . . .

(2) Τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸ τηνικαῦτα ἔφασαν ἐξ ἄντρου τινὸς καὶ σκοτίου μυχοῦ, οὐχὶ δ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπου χρῆσαι, ὡς ἄρα **οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς δίκαιοι ἐμπόδιον εἶεν τοῦ ἀληθεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ διά τοῦτο φευδεῖς τῶν τριπόδων τὰς μαντείας ποιεῖσθαι.** τοῦτο γαρ τοι ἡ ἱέρεια αὐτοῦ κατηφεῖς τοὺς πλοκάμους ἀνεῖσα ὑπὸ μανίας τ' ἐλαυνομένη τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακὸν ἀπωδύρετο.

They said that on this occasion it was Apollo who spoke from a cave and dark recess and not through a human agent that the righteous on the earth were an impediment to his truth-speaking and on this account

caused him to speak false responses from the tripods. For his priestess, letting her locks flow down and driven by madness was lamenting this evil among men.

Comment. Henri Grégoire restored *DI* 306, known only from a poor copy that Kokkonis made of the visible text, as a record of this consultation. The Christians are referred to in line 4 (Χρηστιανῶν) with ἔπαυσα immediately following, to which a final N should probably be restored, and a mention of burning in the next line; just after this comes [κ]αὶ τῶν θεοῦ, and in the next line ὁ θεός (which could mean the Christian God). In line 8 there is a reference to the emperors (βασιλεῦσιν), and in 9 Rehm reads μάντεως. That the inscription refers to the persecution and perhaps to the oracle too is possible; but more than half of Grégoire's text consists of very conjectural restoration. See H. Grégoire, "Les Chrétiens et l'oracle de Didymes," *Mélanges Holleaux* (Paris, 1913) 81–91; "Les pierres qui crient," *Byzantion* 14 (1939) 320–321. The document appears to be a prophet's honorary inscription.

Only Constantine's letter has an indirect quotation of the response. Lactantius says only that it was hostile to the Christians. But although Constantine (if this is really his composition) was a contemporary of the consultation (being about eighteen years old at the time), he obviously did not know the facts, but relied on an oral tradition that had already distorted the content and circumstances; notice his ἔφασαν. He and his informants very likely thought that the persecutory sanction came from Delphi. There was, of course, no oracular cave at Delphi, and the Pythia did not go into a frenzy (Fontenrose 1978: 204–212). And there was nothing of the sort at Didyma either, unless one supposes that Constantine's informants took one of the passages from pronaos to adyton as a cave. These phenomena belong to the fanciful tradition about Delphi and other Oracles that became widespread in late antiquity. Furthermore one gathers that the priestess did not speak herself to the emperor's envoy, but that the god spoke in his own voice (οὐχὶ δ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπου χρῆσαι). As far as we know, no one at Delphi or Didyma attempted the sort of thing that Alexander of Abonuteichos did, pretending that the oracular words came from the god himself (Lucian *Alex.* 17–21, 43). Further on, Constantine wrote concerning the persecuted Christians: ὃ δὴ οὐκ ἂν αὐτοῖς συμβεβήκει εἰ μὴ ἡ ἀσεβὴς ἐκείνη τῶν τοῦ Πυθίου χρηστηρίων μαντεία κίβδηλον δύναμιν ἐσχήκει, "And this would not have happened to them if that impious mantic speech of the Pythian's Oracles had not had fraudulent power" (*Vit. Const.* 2.54). Here he attributes the response to the Pythian Apollo, though it is conceivable that in saying "the Pythian's" he is simply designating the oracular Apollo (cf. *DI* 159 I.1; see p. 56). He refers to Oracles (*chrêstêria*), but perhaps to a single response, though *manteia* may be understood as oracular speech or divination, implying several responses. Lactantius mentions only Didyma (*Apollinem Milesium*); his account of Diocletian's consultation of Didyma and decision to persecute the Christians is circumstantial; he lived through the persecution and wrote about it soon af-

terwards (*De mortibus persecutorum* in 318 A.D.). Hence Lactantius is a more reliable source than Constantine, who reports hearsay.

If Grégoire was right, the *Vita Constantini* was not Eusebios' production, but a composition of the later fourth century, and so the letter would not really be Constantine's and probably not contemporary attestation: "Eusèbe n'est pas l'auteur de la 'Vita Constantini' dans sa forme actuelle et Constantine ne s'est pas 'converti' en 312" (*Byzantion* 13 [1938]: 561–583). Now, however, most scholars believe that the *Vita* is an authentic composition of Eusebios and in its nature encomiastic, thus accounting for what Grégoire considered false and non-Eusebian statements. See H. A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine*, University of California Publications: Classical Studies 15 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1976), 8–10; *Der kleine Pauly* 1:1286. See pp. 83–84; Rehm 1938.

QUASI-HISTORICAL RESPONSES

34 (Rob. 45) Circa 675 B.C.
C. Milesians.
Occ. Probably a project of founding a colony (x).
Q. Not stated.
R. Found the colony (Kyzikos), which will be prosperous.
Mode A1 (E2), Topic 2c
NP. Testimony—Apollo: Aristeides *Or.* 16.237, 1.383 Dind.

Text. πεπύσθαι δέ τινα ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἐν Ὑπερβορέοις οἶμαι τὸν περὶ Κυζίκου χρησμὸν καὶ τὸν μάρτυρα τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῇ πόλει, ὃς ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἐξηγητής ἐστι, τῇ δὲ πόλει ταύτῃ καὶ ἀρχηγέτης. τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλας πόλεις διὰ τῶν οἰκιστῶν ᾤκισεν οὓς ἀπέστειλεν ἑκαστόσε, ταύτης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος αὐτὸς γέγονεν οἰκιστής, ὥστε πῶς οὐκ εὐδαίμων Κύζικος ἀπὸ τοιαύτης τε ἀρχῆς ἀρξαμένη εἰς τοσοῦτόν τε ἅμα τὸν οἰκιστὴν καὶ μάρτυρα ἀναφέρουσα;

I think that even anyone of those who live among the Hyperboreans has learned of the oracle about Kyzikos and the witness to the city's prosperity, who is exegete to the other cities, but to this city also founder. For he established the other cities through the agency of human founders, whom he sent forth on each occasion, but of this city he was himself founder, so that how can Kyzikos fail to be prosperous, having had such an origin, and referring back to both so great a founder and so great a witness?

Comment. PW 522 consider this response Delphic. But Milesians never consulted Delphi, much less concerning their own colonies in the colonization era. Furthermore Delphi probably had nothing to do with colonization at that time; see Fontenrose 1978: 137–144.

It appears certain, however, that the Didymaean Oracle sanctioned Mi-

lesian colonies. That an oracle of Apollo Didymeus sanctioned the foundation of Apollonia-on-Ryndakos in the Propontine country is implied in the Apollonian message to Miletos, *Milet* 1.3.155.15–17: *κρατήσαντες δόρατι τῶν ἐνοικούντων βαρβάρων κατῴκισαν τάς τε ἄλλας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν καθηγησαμένου τῆς στρατείας Ἀπόλλωνος Διδυμέως*, "[The Milesians] subduing the natives with the spear settled both the other Hellenic cities and ours, with Apollo Didymeus leading the host." Perhaps the final genitive absolute can explain Aristeides' statement that Apollo in person founded Kyzikos and not through *oikistai* as he had founded other cities. How Aristeides or the Kyzikenes thought this was done is unclear; but in some manner Apollo was supposed to have been himself the *oikistês*, and apparently no man was given this title. Again, this may be merely one of Aristeides' encomiastic statements.

Aristeides probably alludes to the foundation of 675 rather than to the earlier foundation in 756. See Hasluck 1910: 163. See pp. 93, 112.

35 (Rob. 15) 675–650 B.C.
C. Milesian colonists or early citizens of Kyzikos.
Occ., *Q.* Not stated.
R. Set a sacred stone in the sanctuary of Athena Iasonia.
Mode A1, Topic 1a
NP. Testimony—Apollo: Apollon. *Arg.* 1.958–960; Schol. vet. on *Arg.* 1.959.

Text. *. . . ἀτὰρ κεῖνόν γε θεοπροπίαις Ἑκάτοιο*
Νηλείδαι μετόπισθεν Ἰάονες ἱδρύσαντο
ἱερὸν, ἣ θέμις ἦεν, Ἰησονίης ἐν Ἀθήνης.
[Apollonios]

. . . but that stone Ionian Neleids consecrated, as was right, as sacred by oracles of Hekatos in the sanctuary of Athena Iasonia.

Comment. Apollonios identifies the sacred stone with an anchor stone that the Argonauts left at Kyzikos. The response is very likely authentic: Apollo of Didyma directed or sanctioned the placing of a sacred stone, perhaps an aniconic image of the goddess Athena Iasonia, in her sanctuary at Kyzikos. In fact, this response, whose exact content is unknown, may have directed the foundation of Athena Iasonia's cult. No doubt her epithet, which probably means "healer," caused the Kyzikenes or Apollonios' source to associate this cult with Jason and the Argonauts.

This response too PW 400 consider Delphic. Again it is unlikely that Milesians or Milesian colonists consulted Delphi, particularly in the seventh century. See pp. 93–94.

36 (Rob. 8) [600–550?] Not genuine
C. Milesian oligarchs.

Occ. The god would not admit them to the Oracle when they came to inquire about portents that appeared soon after they had covered their lower-class opponents, the Gergithai, including children, with pitch and set them on fire (vii).

Q. For what reason are we driven away? (6)

R. The murder of the peaceful Gergithai, the fate of the pitch-covered, and the tree ever withered concern me.

Mode D1, Topic 3c

NP. Direct, verse—Herakleides Pont., frag. 50 Wehrli *ap.* Athen. 12.524b.

Text. ὧν καιομένων φασὶν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ γενέσθαι τέρατα καὶ ἐλαίαν ἱερὰν αὐτομάτην ἀναφθῆναι. διόπερ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπήλαυνεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ μαντείου καὶ ἐπειρώτων διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἀπελαύνονται εἶπεν·

Καί μοι Γεργίθων τε φόνος μέλει ἀπτολεμιστῶν
πισσήρων τε μόρος καὶ δένδρεον αἰεὶ ἀθαλλές.

2 πίσσηρος CE αἰεὶ ἀθαλλές Schweighäuser: ἀειθαλλές mss

They say that when the Gergithai were burning, many other portents occurred and a sacred olive tree caught fire spontaneously. Therefore the god drove them [the oligarchs] from his Oracle for a long time, and when they asked for what reason were they driven away he said, "The murder of the peaceful Gergithai [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. PW 130 also include this among Delphic responses and date it about 450 B.C., identifying the civil strife of the rich Milesians and Gergithai with the *stasis* mentioned by Pseudo-Xenophon *Const. Ath.* 3.11, presumably because the Didymaean Oracle was not then in operation. It is much more likely that the class conflict which Herakleides mentioned occurred in the period of class strife in the earlier sixth century; in fact, those are the troubles that Pseudo-Xenophon probably refers to. See Dunham 1915: 127–130; Hiller von Gaertringen 1932: 1594.

Furthermore there is no reliable record of a Milesian consultation of Delphi, even pseudo-historical, at any time. And if the supposed date was in the sixth century, the framers of this story and response would certainly have considered the Didymaean Apollo to be speaker.

This response is very unlike R1–3 in content. Since, moreover, the oligarchs then controlled the Oracle at Didyma along with the Milesian state, it is unlikely that the Oracle would have first refused them admittance to the temple and then have spoken a response sympathetic to the popular party. See pp. 94, 101.

37 (Rob. 3) [Circa 550 B.C.] Not genuine

C. Envoys of King Croesus of Lydia.

Occ. Croesus' design of testing the Oracles (xix).

Q. What is the king of Lydia, Croesus Alyattes' son, engaged in doing now? (11)

R. Unknown but incorrect.
Mode D1, Topic 3e
Testimony—Herod. 1.46.2–48.1.

Text. (46.2) *μετὰ ὧν τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν μαντηίων τῶν τε ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ διαπέμψας ἄλλους ἄλλῃ, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἰέναι . . . οἱ δέ τινες ἐπέμποντο παρά τε Ἀμφιάρεων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον, οἱ δὲ τῆς Μιλησίης ἐς Βραγχίδας.* (3) *ταῦτα μέν νυν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μαντήια ἐς τὰ ἀπέπεμπε μαντευσόμενος Κροῖσος . . . διέπεμπε δὲ πειρώμενος τῶν μαντηίων ὅτι φρονέοιεν, ὡς εἰ φρονέοντα τὴν ἀληθείην εὑρεθείη, ἐπείρηταί σφεα δεύτερα πέμπων εἰ ἐπιχειρέοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι.* (47.1) *ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι τάδε ἀπέπεμψε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστηρίων, ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ὁρμηθέωσι ἐκ Σαρδίων ἀπὸ ταὐτης ἡμερολογέοντας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἑκατοστῇ ἡμέρῃ χρᾶσθαι τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, ἐπειρωτῶντας ὅτι ποιέων τυγχάνει ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω· ἄσσα δ' ἂν ἕκαστα τῶν χρηστηρίων θεσπίσῃ συγγραψαμένους ἀναφέρειν παρ' ἑαυτόν.* (2) *ὅτι μέν νυν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐθέσπισε οὐ λέγεται πρὸς ουδαμῶν· ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖσι . . . ἡ Πυθίη . . . λέγει τάδε . . .* (48.1) *. . . ὡς δὲ καὶ ὦλλοι οἱ περιπεμφθέντες παρῆσαν φέροντες τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος ἕκαστα ἀναπτύσσων ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων, τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσίετό μιν. ὁ δὲ ὡς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετό τε καὶ προσεδέξατο. . . .*

After forming this design Croesus at once set about testing the Oracles, both those in Hellas and that in Libya, sending messengers to all of them, some to go to Delphi . . . and some were sent to Amphiaraos and Trophonios, and others to Branchidai in Milesia. These are the Hellenic Oracles to which Croesus sent to receive an oracular response. . . . He sent them around for a test of the Oracles to find out how reliable they were, so that if they were found to be truth-telling, he might send a second time and ask whether he should attempt to campaign against the Persians. And he sent the Lydians to the test of the Oracles with these instructions: they should keep count of the days from that on which they left Sardis, and on the hundredth day they should consult the Oracles, asking what the king of Lydia, Croesus Alyattes' son, was engaged in doing at that moment; and the answer that each Oracle spoke they should write down and bring back to him. Now what the rest of the Oracles responded nobody has reported. But at Delphi . . . the Pythia spoke as follows: [Q99]. . . . When the other envoys who had been sent around had come back bringing the oracles, then Croesus opened each and scanned the contents, but none of them pleased him until he heard the response from Delphi, and immediately he prayed and accepted it. . . .

Comment. See pp. 10, 94; Fontenrose 1978: 113, 301–302 (Q99); PW 52; Crahay 1956: 193–197.

38 (Rob. 4) 545 B.C. Doubtful
C. Kymaioi.
Occ. Mazares' demand that they surrender Paktyes (xxii).
Q. What should they do that will please the gods? (5)
R. Surrender Paktyes to the Persians.
Mode A1, Topic 2d
Indirect—Herod. 1.158.1.

> *Text.* (157.3) Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμπε ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτύην. οἱ δὲ Κυμαῖοι ἔγνωσαν συμβουλῆς πέρι ἐς θεὸν ἀνοῖσαι τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι. . . . (158.1) πέμψαντες ὧν οἱ Κυμαῖοι ἐς τοὺς Βραγχίδας θεοπρόπους εἰρώτων περὶ Πακτύην ὁκοῖόν τι ποιέοντες θεοῖσι μέλλοιεν χαριεῖσθαι· ἐπειρωτῶσι δέ σφι ταῦτα χρηστήριον ἐγένετο **ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσῃσι.**
>
> After that Mazares sent messengers to Kyme, bidding them surrender Paktyes. But the Kymaioi decided to refer the matter to the god at Branchidai for his advice. . . . And so the Kymaioi sent envoys to Branchidai to ask concerning Paktyes what they should do that would please the gods. And when they asked this they received a response directing them to surrender Paktyes to the Persians.

Comment. This could be an authentic response. It is conceivable that Kyme referred its dilemma to Apollo at Didyma and perhaps put it in the form, "Is it better that we surrender Paktyes to the Persians?", to which question the Oracle was likely to give an affirmative answer (see Fontenrose 1978: 221–222). But I am inclined to think that this response was framed to introduce the tale of R39, Aristodikos' consultation. As Herodotos tells the tale, R38 is an oracular order to surrender a suppliant, and Apollo ordered this unholy act so that Kyme would come to grief and so learn better than to ask about surrendering a suppliant. It is a cautionary tale, a kind of fable like the tales of Glaukos Epikydes' son (Q92: Herod. 6. 86c.2) and of Daphidas (Q239: Val. Max. 1.8, ext. 8). See pp. 11, 13, 94.

39 (Rob. 4) [545 B.C.] Not genuine
C. (A) Aristodikos and the envoys from Kyme.
Occ. (A) Aristodikos' distrust of R38 (xxi).
Q. (A) Lord, Paktyes the Lydian fled to us as a suppliant to escape violent death from the Persians. They demand that we surrender him. We fear the Persian power but up to now are reluctant to surrender the suppliant until we have clearly learned from you what we should do (4).
R. (A) Surrender Paktyes to the Persians.
Mode A1, Topic 2d
C. (BC) Aristodikos.
Occ. (BC) Aristodikos removed all birds' nests from Apollo's temple (xxi).
Q. (B) None (17).

R. (B) Most unholy man, how dare you rout my suppliants from the temple?
Mode D1, Topic 1d

Q. (C) Do you, Lord, thus protect your suppliants, but bid the Kymaioi surrender their suppliant? (11)

R. (C) Yes, I bid you do so, so that you may more quickly perish for your impiety, and that hereafter you may not consult the Oracle about surrender of suppliants.
Mode A1 (C1, D1, E2), Topic 1d
Direct, prose (BC)—Herod. 1.159.3–4.
Indirect (A)—Herod. 1.159.2.

Text. (158.1) ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἀπενεχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὁρμέατο ἐκδιδόναι. (2) ὁρμημένου δὲ ταύτῃ τοῦ πλήθεος Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδεω . . . ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστέων τε τῷ χρησμῷ καὶ δοκέων τοὺς θεοπρόπους οὐ λέγειν ἀληθέως, ἐς ὃ τὸ δεύτερον περὶ Πακτύεω ἐπειρησόμενοι ἦισαν ἄλλοι θεοπρόποι, τῶν καὶ Ἀριστόδικος ἦν. (159.1) ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς Βραγχίδας ἐχρηστηριάζετο ἐκ πάντων Ἀριστόδικος ἐπειρωτῶν τάδε, Ὦναξ ἦλθε παρ' ἡμέας ἱκέτης Πακτύης ὁ Λυδὸς φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περσέων· οἱ δέ μιν ἐξαιτέονται προεῖναι Κυμαίους κελεύοντες. (2) ἡμεῖς δὲ δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν τὸν ἱκέτην ἐς τόδε οὐ τετολμήκαμεν ἐκδιδόναι πρὶν ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δηλωθῇ ἀτρεκέως ὁκότερα ποιέωμεν. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρῶτα, ὁ δ' αὖτις τὸν αὐτὸν σφι χρησμὸν ἔφαινε κελεύων **ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσῃσι.** (3) πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀριστόδικος ἐκ προνοίης ἐποίεε τάδε· περιιὼν τὸν νηὸν κύκλῳ ἐξαίρεε τοὺς στρουθοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἦν νενοσσευμένα ὀρνίθων γένεα ἐν τῷ νηῷ. ποιέοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγεται φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γενέσθαι φέρουσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόδικον, λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε, **Ἀνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων τί τάδε τολμᾶς ποιέειν; τοὺς ἱκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κεραΐζεις;** (4) Ἀριστόδικον δὲ οὐκ ἀπορήσαντα πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν, Ὦναξ αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτω τοῖσι ἱκέτῃσι βοηθέεις, Κυμαίοις δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ἱκέτην ἐκδιδόναι; Τὸν δὲ αὖτις ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσιδε, **Ναὶ κελεύω ἵνα γε ἀσεβήσαντες θᾶσσον ἀπόλησθε, ὡς μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ ἱκετέων ἐκδόσιος ἔλθητε ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον.**

[Herod. 1.158.1–159.4]

When the Kymaioi heard this response (R38) they moved to surrender Paktyes. But as the majority started to do so, Aristodikos Herakleides' son . . . distrusting the response and thinking that the envoys were not telling the truth, kept the Kymaioi from doing this until other envoys, including Aristodikos, had gone a second time to inquire about Paktyes. On arrival at Branchidai Aristodikos put the question for the whole embassy: "Lord, Paktyes the Lydian fled to us [etc.; Q (A) above]." To Aristodikos' question the god gave the same response, bidding them surrender Paktyes to the Persians.

Thereupon Aristodikos, having previously made his plans, did as fol-

lows: he went clear around the temple and removed the sparrows and all other kinds of birds that had nested in the temple. And the story is told that as he did so, a voice came from the adyton addressing Aristodikos and asking, "Most unholy man, [etc.; *R* (B) above]." Aristodikos, not upset by this, asked, "Do you, Lord, thus protect [etc.; *Q* (C) above]." And the god replied, "Yes, I bid you do so, [etc.; *R* (C) above]."

Comment. The Kymaioi sent Paktyes to Mitylene, and when the people of Mitylene were about to surrender Paktyes, the Kymaioi sent him to Chios, where he was surrendered to the Persians (Herod. 1.160).

We can consider R39BC oracular responses, although Apollo speaks in his own person and not through a human agent; see Q268C, L8, F12. For lack of question see Q7, L8, L41; but in effect Aristodikos silently asks a question by removing birds' nests from the temple. See pp. 9, 11, 94, 113. On R38–39 see Crahay 1956: 99–102.

40 (Rob. 7) [Circa 500 B.C.] Not genuine

C. Carians.

Occ. War against Persians (vi).

Q. Should they ally themselves with the Milesians? (1)

R. Once upon a time the Milesians were mighty.

Mode D1, Topic 3j

Direct, verse (iambic trimeter)—Zen. 5.80. Prov. Bodl. 776.

NP. Direct, verse (iambic trimeter)—Apollo: *Demon 327.16J *ap.* Schol. vet. *in* Aristoph. *Plut.* 1002. Schol. vet. on Aristoph. *Plut.* 1002. The god: Diod. 10.25.2. Schol. vet. on Aristoph. *Plut.* 1002. Oracle: Schol. vet. on Aristoph. *Plut.* 1075. Suda H572.

Text. *Φασὶ τοὺς Κᾶρες πολεμουμένους ὑπὸ Δαρείου κατά τινα παλαιὰν μαντείαν εἰρημένην αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀλκιμωτάτους προσθέσθαι συμμάχους ἐλθεῖν πρὸς Βραγχίδας καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ θεὸν ἐρώτησαν εἰ Μιλησίους προσθοῖντο συμμάχους, τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι,*

Πάλαι ποτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι.

[Zenobios]

Ἦσάν ποτ' ἦσαν κτλ. Schol. vet. *Plut.* 1002, Suda

They say that when Dareios made war upon the Carians, they, acting upon an ancient oracle which had told them to ally themselves with the mightiest, went to Branchidai and asked the god there whether they should ally themselves with the Milesians, and the god replied, "Once upon a time the Milesians were mighty."

Comment. According to Demon the Carians were at war with the Ambrakiotes, probably an error of the Scholiast who cites him or of a copyist. The consultants were Cypriotes according to Schol. *Plut.* 1075, or Polykrates according to the Suda; neither informs us against whom they wanted help.

Zenobios mentions an earlier *chrêsmos* which told the Carians to ally themselves with the mightiest, but does not inform us who spoke it. We may suppose that the narrators attributed it to Didyma, since the Carians went to Didyma for R40 in Zenobios' account. But Demon may have Delphi in mind as source of R40, since he refers to a prophetess whom the Milesians accused of Medizing, and so probably did not suppose that it was a prophetess at Didyma, where men spoke the responses down to 494 B.C. In any case this is simply a proverb employed as a narrative oracle.

According to Zenobios and an Aristophanic Scholiast the trimeter line was found in Anakreon's poetry. Whether he invented it or made use of a current proverb cannot be known, but he probably did not consider it an oracular response. Aristophanes quotes it twice in the *Plutus* (1002, 1075) only as a proverb. See Fontenrose 1978: 83–87 on the narrative use of proverbs as oracular statements.

According to Demon the response was spoken just before the Ionian revolt began, about 499. Zenobios and a Scholiast say that Dareios was waging war against the Carians. The Ionian revolt spread to Caria, but in this story the Carians wanted Milesian help after the Persians had attacked them, as if the Milesians were not then engaged in war, though it was Miletos that instigated the Ionian revolt. In the story of the Carian inquiry there was perhaps some confused reference to the events of 499–494; at any rate the supposed response was dated in Dareios' reign (521–486). See pp. 55, 84, 94.

41 (Rob. 10) [334 B.C.] Not genuine
C. Seleukos.
Occ. Desire to return to Macedonia (iii).
Q. Apparently whether he should return (1).
R. Do not hurry to Europe. Asia is much better for you.
Mode C1, Topic 3e (3i)
Direct, verse—App. *Syr.* 56, 63.

Text. Λέγεται δ' αὐτῷ στρατιώτῃ τοῦ βασλέως ἔτι ὄντι καὶ ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐπομένῳ χρησμὸν ἐν Διδυμέως γενέσθαι πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τῆς ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐπανόδου·

Μὴ σπεῦδ' Εὐρώπηνδ', Ἀσίη τοι πολλὸν ἀμείνων.

[*Syr.* 56]

It is said that in the temple of Didymeus an oracle was spoken to him [Seleukos], when, still a soldier of the king [Alexander] and following him against the Persians, he asked about his return to Macedonia: "Do not return to Europe. Asia is much better for you."

Comment. At *Syr.* 63 Appian interprets this to mean that if Seleukos should go back to Europe, he would die; for in 281 he entered Europe for the first time since 334, when he crossed the Hellespont from Asia, and was killed at Lysimacheia. See pp. 18, 90.

42 (Rob. 11) [334?–300?] Not genuine
C. Seleukos.
Occ. Concern about his death (xv).
Q. Not stated.
R. If you avoid Argos you will reach your destined age; but if you go to Argos, then you will die before your time.
Mode C2 (E2), Topic 3c (3i)
NP. Direct, verse—Oracle: App. *Syr.* 63.

Text. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ θανάτου ποτὲ αὐτῷ χρωμένῳ λόγιον προσαγορευθῆναι·

Ἄργος ἀλευόμενος τὸ πεπρωμένον εἰς ἔτος ἥξεις·
εἰ δ' Ἄργος πελάσαις, τότε μὲν παρὰ μοῖραν ὀλοῖο.

And it is said that when once he inquired about his death, an oracle was spoken to him, "If you avoid Argos [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. The dramatic date could be any time from 334 to 281, but since Seleukos was seventy-seven years old in 281, it is likely that the tellers of this tale placed it before 300. Seleukos, however, does not appear to have visited Miletos after 334; but since this is not true history, Appian's source may have supposed that he visited Didyma sometime later. The warning may be considered ambiguous, since in the story Seleukos would suppose that the god meant the city of Argos (or any town or place that bore the name); but he meant Europe.

The response is unidentified, but since it immediately follows a quotation of R41, spoken to Seleukos at Didyma, in Appian's text, we may suppose that this was also attributed to Apollo Didymeus. See pp. 18, 90, 94.

43 (Rob. 12) [334 B.C.] Not genuine
C. Seleukos.
Occ., *Q.* Not stated.
R. King Seleukos [Diodoros]. When he takes the Syrian kingship he should make Daphne sacred to Apollo [Libanios].
Mode E2 (A1), Topic 2a (1a)
Indirect—Diod. 19.90.4. Liban. *Or.* 11.99.

Text. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ Βραγχίδαις αὐτοῦ χρηστηριαζομένου τὸν θεὸν [φασὶ] προσαγορεῦσαι **Σέλευκον βασιλέα** . . . [Diodoros].

Καὶ πάντα ἦν ἡ Δάφνη Σελεύκῳ· πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθοῦσι φάσμασιν ἔτι καὶ χρησμὸς αὐτὸν ἦγεν, ὃν παρὰ τὴν δυσκολίαν ἐκ Μιλήτου δεξάμενος ἀνεθάρρησεν, ὃς τήν τε μέλλουσαν ὑπισχνεῖτο τύχην, καὶ **λαβόντα τὴν Σύρων ἀρχὴν Δάφνην αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ἱερὰν** ἐπέταξεν [Libanios].

For in Branchidai when he [Seleukos] was consulting the Oracle the god [they say] greeted him as king . . . [Diodoros].

Daphne meant everything to Seleukos; for in addition to the visions

that he had seen an oracle also guided him. This, which he received from Miletos when in low spirits, encouraged him and promised his coming fortune and told him to consecrate Daphne to him [Apollo] when he took the throne of Syria [Libanios].

Comment. This must be dated to the same time as R41 and possibly R42, unless we suppose that Seleukos consulted the Oracle indirectly by sending an envoy. Only in 334 could he have gone to Didyma in person. Diodoros mentions this response just after telling about Alexander's visit to Seleukos in a dream; this was after Alexander's death, and so Diodoros may have supposed that it occurred between 323 and 312, when Seleukos became king. See pp. 93–94.

44 (Rob. 37) [Circa 60 A.D.] Not genuine
C., *Occ.*, *Q.* Not stated.
R. Apollonios shares the Oracle's wisdom and is really wise.
Mode D1, Topic 3g
Indirect—Philostratos *Vit. Apollon.* 4.1.

Text. λόγοι τε περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐφοίτων, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κολοφῶνι μαντείου, **κοινωνὸν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας καὶ ἀτεχνῶς σοφὸς καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τὸν ἄνδρα** ᾄδοντες, οἱ δ' ἐκ Διδύμων, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον ἱεροῦ.

Reports about him [Apollonios] were going around, some from the Oracle at Kolophon, lauding the man in song as sharer of its own wisdom and really wise, and the like, others from Didyma, and others from the shrine near Pergamon.

Comment. Apparently Philostratos means that Didyma and Pergamon spoke the same kind of response about Apollonios as Klaros did. It is unlikely that any Oracle made such statements about him.

45 (Rob. 70) [?] Not genuine
C. Peasants.
Occ. Nine men found dead (xv).
Q. What was the cause? (6)
R. Golden-horned Pan, servant of awesome Dionysos, while going through wooded mountains, holding a staff in his mighty hand and grasping his shrill-sounding hollow syrinx with the other, charmed the nymphs' spirits; and piping a piercing tune he frightened all the woodcutters, and amazement seized them as they looked upon the chilling body of the raging, roving deity. And so an end in cold death would have seized them all, if Artemis the huntress with dread fury in her breast had not stopped him from his mighty passion. You must pray to Artemis that she may become your helper.
Mode D2 (A1), Topic 3g (1b, 3e)

Direct, verse—Porphyry *ap.* Eus. *PE* 5.6, 190bc.
Testimony—Eus. *PE* 5.6, 190d.

Text. δεδήλωκε δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ἐν Βραγχιδαις Ἀπόλλων διὰ τοῦτων· ἐννέα γὰρ εὑρέθησαν ἀποθανόντες. πυνθανομένων οὖν τῶν τὸν ἄγρον οἰκούντων τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχρησεν ὁ θεός·

Χρυσόκερως βλοσυροῖο Διωνύσου θεράπων Πὰν
βαίνων ὑλήεντα κατ' οὔρεα χειρὶ κραταιῇ
ῥάβδον ἔχων ἑτέρῃ δὲ λιγὺ πνείουσαν ἔμαρπτε
σύριγγα γλαφυρὴν, νύμφῃσι δὲ θυμὸν ἔθελγεν.
ὀξὺ δὲ συρίξας μέλος ἄνερας ἐπτοίησεν
ὑλοτόμους πάντας, θάμβος δ' ἔχεν εἰσορόωντας
δαίμονος ὀρνυμένου κρυερὸν δέμας οἰστρηέντος.
καί νύ κε πάντας ἔμαρψε τέλος κρυεροῦ θανάτοιο
εἰ μή οἱ κότον αἰνὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔχουσα
Ἄρτεμις ἀγροτέρη παῦσεν μένεος κρατεροῖο.
ἣν καὶ χρὴ λίσσεσθ', ἵνα σοι γίγνητ' ἐπαρωγός.

1 Διονύσου, Διόνυσος mss 3 ἔχεν AI 11 γίγνητ' I: γίνητ' A: γένητ', γίγνοιτ' other mss. [see Gifford's edition of Eusebios *PE*]

And the Apollo at Branchidai has shown this [that Pan is Dionysos' servant] in the following words. Nine men were found dead. So the country-dwellers asked the cause and the god replied, "Golden-horned Pan [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. On the question of the authenticity of Porphyry's Didymaean responses, R45–48, see *Comment* on R48. It is impossible to know when Porphyry's source supposed that this response was spoken.

It resembles R23 and R25 in being long and somewhat discursive about the gods. The response ends in a direction to worship Artemis Agrotera, and the deeds of Pan given as cause of the deaths are, of course, something that conceivably could be offered in explanation and could neither be proved nor disproved. Yet this response is rather different from any Historical responses. R23 and R25 concern respectively the cult of Demeter and the appointment of a priestess of Athena. R45, on the other hand, tells a story about Pan and ends in a direction to pray to Artemis as averter of Pan's fury.

Since the tale of Pan's deeds answers the questions asked, and the direction to pray to Artemis is not an answer to the question (and takes but the final verse of eleven), I have taken the principal mode to be D2. See p. 158.

46 (Rob. 71) [?] Not genuine
C., *Occ.* Not stated.
Q. Should one swear the oath that someone proposes? (1)
R. Titaness Rea, Mother of Gods, cares for flutes, beating of drums, and effeminate company; helmeted Pallas for battles and Enyo's strife; Leto's daughter for chasing mountain-ranging beasts with spotted dogs over

steep headlands; sweet-sounding Hera for the gentle flow of fluid air; Deo for tending luxuriant crops that nourish ears of grain; Pharian Isis in turn for searching passionately beside the fertile streams of Nile for her husband, delicate Osiris.

Mode D1, Topic 1d

Direct, verse—Porphyry *ap.* Eus. *PE* 5.7, 192 a–c. Incomplete, partly indirect—Eus. *PE* 5.7, 192cd.

Text. Καὶ μὴν ὅτι ἑκάστῳ ἐπιτέτακται καὶ τί καὶ τίνι αὐτοὶ δεδηλώκασιν, ὥσπερ ὁ Διδυμαῖος διὰ τούτων· ἦν δ' ἡ πεῦσις εἰ δεῖ ὀμόσαι τῷ ἐπάγοντι τὸν ὅρκον·

Μητέρι μὲν μακάρων μέλεται Τιτηνίδι Ῥείῃ
αὐλοὶ καὶ τυπάνων πάταγοι καὶ θῆλυς ὅμιλος·
Παλλάδι δ' εὐπήληκι μόθοι καὶ δῆρις Ἐνυοῦς·
καὶ βαλιαῖς σκυλάκεσσι βαθυσκοπέλους ἀνὰ πρῶνας
θῆρας ὀρειονόμους ἐλάαν Λητωίδι κούρῃ·
Ἥρῃ δ' εὐκελάδῳ μαλακὴ χύσις ἠέρος ὑγρῆς·
λήια εὐαλδῆ κομέειν σταχυητρόφα Δηοῖ·
Ἰσιδι δ' αὖ Φαρίῃ γονίμοις παρὰ χεύμασι Νείλου
μαστεύειν οἴστροισιν ἐὸν πόσιν ἄβρὸν Ὄσιριν.

[Porphyry]

1 καὶ before τίνι bracketed by Maas αὐτοὶ Wolff: αὐτῶν mss (see Gifford's edition of Eusebios *PE*)

In fact, the gods themselves have made clear what is assigned to each, both what and to whom, as the Didymaean has in the following words; the question was whether one should swear the oath that someone proposes: "Titaness Rea, (etc.; *R* above)."

Comment. This response has priamel form: A x B, C x D, etc., the common term (x) being *meletai*, "cares for," expressed with the first member only; the other terms are deities and their provinces or activities. But the priamel is incomplete. As it stands, the final member is "Isis cares for seeking Osiris," but that yields no proper conclusion; that is not what the series leads up to as final term. The question is about oaths, and for final term we expect something like "And Zeus cares for taking and observing oaths." Thus the response must be incomplete in Porphyry's text as we have it. See p. 163 and *Comment* on R48; Robinson 1981: 258–260.

47 [?] Not genuine

C., Occ. Not stated.

Q. Perhaps about the Delphic and Klarian Oracles.

R. My response will speak in oracular words about Pytho and Klaria, Phoibos' Oracles. Countless wondrous Oracles have sprung up on earth's back, springs and eddying exhalations, but earth herself, yawning, has taken some again beneath her chthonian bosom, and the measureless

span of time has destroyed others. Only Helios, lightbringer to mortal men, still has Mykale's holy waters in the glens of Didyma, and [holy water] at Pytho's foot under the Parnasian steep, and craggy Klaros, rugged mouth for Phoibos' voice.

Mode D1, Topic 1d

NP. Direct, verse—Apollo: Porphyry *ap.* Eus. *PE* 5.16, 204c–205a.

Testimony—Apollo: Eus. *PE* 5.15, 204c.

Text. Ἀλλά γὰρ ἑξῆς τούτοις ἄκουε οἷα ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς περὶ τοῦ ἐκλελοιπέναι αὐτῶν τὰ βοώμενα χρηστήρια ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τίθησι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· (Eusebios)

Περὶ τῶν ἐκλελοιπότων χρηστηρίων αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἔχρησε τάδε·

Ἀμφὶ δὲ Πυθὼ καὶ Κλαρίην μαντεύματα Φοίβου
αὐδήσει φάτις ἡμετέρη θεματώδεσιν ὀμφαῖς.
μυρία μὲν γαίης μαντήια θέσκελα νώτῳ
βεβλύσθη πηγαί τε καὶ ἄσθματα δινήεντα·
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄψ χθονίοισιν ὑπαὶ κόλποισιν ἔδεκτο
αὐτὴ γαῖα χανοῦσα, τὰ δ' ὤλεσε μυρίος αἰών.
μούνῳ δ' Ἠελίῳ φαεσιμβρότῳ εἰσέτ' ἔασιν
ἐν Διδύμων γυάλοις Μυκαλήιον ἔνθεον ὕδωρ,
Πυθῶνός τ' ἀνὰ πέζαν ὑπαὶ Παρνάσιον αἶπος,
καὶ κραναὴ Κλαρίη, τρηχὺ στόμα Φοιβάδος ὀμφῆς.

[Porphyry]

1 *καὶ suppl.* Viguier: Πυθὼ (*πυθώοι*) Κλαρίην (Κλαρίῃ) *τε* mss (see Gifford's edition of Eusebios *PE*)

But next listen to what the same author puts in the same work about the gods' abandoning their vaunted Oracles to the following effect. (Eusebios)

Concerning the abandoned Oracles Apollo himself spoke this response: "My response will speak in oracular words [etc.; *R* above]." (Porphyry)

Comment. Eusebios does not quote Porphyry's context and so we cannot be sure that these verses were attributed to Didyma. The question seems to have concerned Delphi and Klaros, and it is not likely that anyone would inquire at either place about its present condition or state of operations. Since the speaker introduces Didyma in line 8 as one of the three Apolline Oracles still operating after all others have vanished, it looks as though the response were attributed by the framer to Didyma. It can hardly be an authentic pronouncement. Its composition may be dated to 100–230, but it could have been made in Porphyry's lifetime. The identification of Apollo with Helios means a fairly late production, probably not earlier than the second century A.D.

Noteworthy is the introduction of the first line with *de*, indicating that this may be taken from a book of oracles like the *Oracula Sibyllina* (see Fon-

tenrose 1978: 173), although probably not from that collection. See pp. 102, 114 and *Comment* on R48.

48 [?] . Not genuine
C. Nikaians.
Occ., Q. Not stated.
R. The Pythian cannot recover his speaking voice: faint with long lapses of time it has now become locked in unoracular silence. But as the custom is, make mantic sacrifices to Phoibos.
Mode A1 (D1), Topic 1b
NP. Direct, verse—Apollo: Porphyry *ap.* Eus. *PE* 5.16, 205a.

Text. Νικαεῦσι δὲ χρῶν ἔφη·

Πυθῶον δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναρρῶσαι λάλον ὀμφήν·
ἤδη γὰρ δολιχοῖσιν ἀμαυρωθεῖσα χρόνοισιν
βέβληται κληῖδας ἀμαντευτοῖο σιωπῆς.
ῥέξατε δ' ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ θεόπροπα θύματα Φοίβῳ.

And to the Nikaians he said in an oracular response: "The Pythian cannot recover [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. This immediately follows R47 in Porphyry's text as quoted by Eusebios and may also be attributed to Didyma. PW 475, however, consider it Delphic, even though the verses say that the Pythian is now silent. One may point to Q263, in which Julian is told that Apollo has lost his house, bay tree, and prophetic spring, but which is nevertheless definitely attributed to Delphi. But in Porphyry's text the speaker is the god who spoke R47. On R47 and R48 as Didymaean see Buresch 1889: 41 with note 8; Haussoullier 1902: xxviii–xxix.

Although some scholars have accepted R45–48, taken by Eusebios from Porphyry's *De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda*, as genuine, others have considered them spurious; see G. Wolff, *Porphyrii de philosophia ex oraculis* (Berlin, 1858) 99–102; E. H. Gifford, edition of Eusebios *PE* (Oxford, 1903) 4.141–142. Wolff did not believe that Porphyry invented these oracles, as Augustine did (*CD* 19.23), but considered him credulous in his easy acceptance of oracles from questionable sources. From Porphyry's oracles, which include R51 (see *Comment* on R51)—and also from R52 and R53—it appears that in the second, third, and fourth centuries books of oracles circulated, attributed to Delphi, Didyma, and other Oracles, written by poets of a somewhat philosophical temper, on the causes of natural phenomena or of unusual occurrences, the provinces of deities, the state of Oracles, the Jewish and Christian religions, immortality of the soul, the doom of the sacrilegious, and similar topics (see Q250, 259, 263, L172). Some reflect Stoic or Neoplatonic ideas, others Judaeo-Christian beliefs.

For most such oracles it is vain to seek a dramatic date. Very likely the inventors of these responses had no particular time in mind when they com-

posed them. Those quoted by Porphyry were composed at least a few years before he published the book that quotes them around 260.

49 (Rob. 74) [?] Not genuine
C. Not stated.
Occ. Interest in Christ (xxi).
Q. Was Christ god or man? (11)
R. He was mortal in flesh, wise in miraculous works, but convicted by Chaldaean judges he was nailed to stakes and reached a bitter end.
Mode D1, Topic 3g
Direct, verse—Lact. *Div. inst.* 4.13.11 Brandt.

Text. propterea Milesius Apollo consultus utrumne deus an homo fuerit hoc modo respondit,

Θνητὸς ἔην κατὰ σάρκα, σοφὸς τερατώδεσιν ἔργοις,
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Χαλδαίοισι δικασπολίαισιν ἁλώσας
γομφωθεὶς σκολόπεσσι πικρὴν ἀνέπλησε τελευτήν.

2 *δικασπολίαισιν* Struve: *δίκαις σκολιαῖσιν* sugg. Struve: *δικασπολίησιν* R: garbled spellings in other mss

Therefore the Milesian Apollo, when consulted whether [Christ] was god or man, replied as follows: "He was mortal in flesh [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. This is surely a Christian pious invention, although Lactantius, believing it to be an authentic pronouncement of the Milesian Apollo, finds fault with it, in that in these verses the poet did not explicitly grant Christ's divinity, but rather concealed it; for example, he said truly that Christ was mortal in flesh, but didn't add the counterpart, that he was divine in spirit. See *Comment* on R51.

50 (Rob. 75) [?] Not genuine
C. Polites.
Occ. Interest in the immortality of the soul (xxi).
Q. Does the soul survive death or does it vanish? (11)
R. As long as the soul is bound by chains to the body, it meets corrupting experiences and yields to mortal ills. But when it finds quick mortal release after the body's decay, it goes entirely to the sky, being ever ageless, and remains forever incorruptible. For this is what the first-born divine providence ordained.
Mode D1, Topic 1d
Direct, verse—Lact. *Div. inst.* 7.13.6 Brandt.
NP. Direct, verse—Apollo: *Theosophia, Chrêsmoi tôn Hell. theôn* 37.

Text. Polites quidam consuluit Apollinem Milesium utrumne maneat anima post mortem an dissolvatur, et respondit his versibus:

Ψυχὴ μὲν μέχρις οὗ δεσμοῖς πρὸς σῶμα κρατεῖται
φθαρτὰ νοοῦσα πάθη θνηταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν εἴκει·

ἡνίκα δ' ἀνάλυσιν βροτέην μετὰ σῶμα μαρανθὲν
ὠκιστὴν εὕρηται, ἐς αἰθέρα πᾶσα φορεῖται
αἰὲν ἀγήραος οὖσα, μένει δ' εἰς πάμπαν ἀτηρής·
πρωτόγονος γὰρ τοῦτο θεία διέταξε πρόνοια.

[Lactantius]

2 *φθαρτὸν, ἐοῦσ' ἀπαθὴς ταῖς τοῦδ' ἀλγ. Theos. νοσοῦσα* sugg. Brandt 3 *ἀνάλυσιν* Sedulius and editors: *ἀνλυσιν, ἀνανσιν* mss *βρότεον Theos.* 4 *εὕρητ' εἰς Theos.* 6 *τοῦτο δὲ πρωτογόνος Theos.*

A certain Polites consulted the Milesian Apollo on whether the soul survives death or vanishes, and the god responded with these verses: "As long as the soul is bound by chains to the body [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. The thought expressed in these verses appears to be Platonic. It is probably not Christian, since the poet asserts that the soul (apparently everyone's) goes to the sky after death.

The name Polites is found in Milesian and Didymaean inscriptions (e.g., *DI* 231 II, 234B II, 259.3, 266, 390B II.2), but (except in 266) combined with other names, as Marcus Antonius Polites Tryblichus. The name is not exclusively Milesian; it appears, for example, at Iliad 2.791 and Odyssey 10.224. Hence we need not suppose this an authentic Milesian consultation. See *Comment* on R51; Robinson 1981: 203–206; Robert 1968: 589–590.

51 (Rob. 72) [?] Not genuine

C. Not stated.

Occ. Interest in the Jewish religion (Lactantius) (xxi).

Q. Which is better, reason or law? (Porphyry) (11)

R. [First part missing] and to God the king and to the father before all, before whom earth and sky and sea tremble, the Tartarian depths and demons shudder [Lactantius]; whose law is the father, whom the holy Hebrews greatly honor [Porphyry].

Mode D1, Topic 1d

Direct, verse—Lact. *De ira dei* 23 Brandt.

NP. Pseudo-direct, prose (Latin)—Apollo: *Porphyry *ap.* Aug. *CD* 19.23C.

OP. Memphis from Pythia. Direct, prose—Kedrenos, *Syn. Hist.* 41cd.

Text. Apollo Milesius de Judaeorum religione consultus responso haec introducit [indidit *v. l.*],

ἐς δὲ θεὸν βασιλῆα καὶ ἐς γενετῆρα πρὸ πάντων
ὃν τρομέει καὶ γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα,
Ταρτάρεοί τε μυχοὶ καὶ δαίμονες ἐρρίγασιν [Lactantius]

quorum lex est pater, quem valde sancti honorant Hebraei [Porphyry translated by Augustine].

The three Greek verses are garbled by the copyists of the

manuscripts of *De ira dei*. Here I reproduce the text of Samuel Brandt's edition of Lactantius (Vienna, 1897). For different readings see N. LeNourry's text in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* 7: 1

ἠδὲ θεὸν βασιλῆα καὶ γεννητῆρα 2 ὃν τρέμεται 3 δαίμονες ἐκφρίττουσιν

Milesian Apollo, consulted on the Jews' religion, included these words in his response, "and to God the king [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. According to the Byzantine historian Georgios Kedrenos, when the plagues came upon Egypt, presumably in Moses' time, Pharaoh Petissonios went to Memphis and asked the Pythia (*sic*) to tell him who was the first and great god of Israel. She replied,

Ἔστι κατ' οὐρανοῦ μεγάλοιο βεβηκὸς, φλογὸς ὑπερβάλλον, αἴθριον ἀέναον ἀθάνατον πῦρ, ὃ τρέμει πᾶν, οὐρανὸς γαῖά τε καὶ θάλασσα, Ταρτάριοι βύθιοί τε δαίμονες ἐρρίγησαν. οὗτος θεὸς ἀπάτωρ αὐτοπάτωρ, πατὴρ υἱὸς αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ τρισόλβιος. εἰς μικρὸν δὲ μέρος ἀγγέλων ἡμεῖς [*ὑμεῖς* mss.]. *μαθὼν ἄπιθι σιγῶν.*

There is upon great heaven, beyond flame, a celestial, eternal, immortal fire, at which everything trembles, heaven and earth and sea, and the Tartarian, infernal demons shudder. That is God, fatherless, self-generated, father and son himself of himself, thrice blessed. But we are a small fraction of messengers. Having learned this, go in silence.

The text reproduced here is that printed in I. Bekker's edition (*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* 8; Bonn, 1838). The central part is an adaptation of the second and third verses quoted by Lactantius. The first part is adapted from *Theosophia* 13.1–2, the third part (except the final command) from 13.14–16. The whole is a prose rendition of verses with several phrases still in dactylic meter.

Theosophia 13 is introduced as an oracle that Apollo spoke to a certain Theophilos, who asked, "Are you God or is another?" In reply Apollo asserts that God is an infinite, eternal, supercelestial fire, above sun, moon, and stars; Apollo and the other gods are God's messengers (*angeloi*), a fraction of him. Lactantius (*Div. inst.* 1.7.1) quotes *Theosophia* 13.14–16, the final three verses (on God's self-generation and the messenger gods), as the first three verses of a twenty-one verse oracle spoken at Klaros in answer to the question, "Who or what is God?" Lactantius quotes no other verses. The same three verses begin a six-verse composition inscribed on a wall at Oinoanda in Caria (*SEG* 27.903 = *ZPE* 32 [1978]: 263 = *CRAI* [1971]: 602 [L. Robert]), allegedly spoken by an oracular god (Robinson 1981: 323 [C–31A]), who identifies God with *Aithêr*, all-seeing Sky.

The oracle on the Hebrew God that Lactantius quotes is obviously incomplete, not forming a complete sentence; and Augustine informs the reader that there were other verses. Kedrenos' version places the content of

Lactantius' and Porphyry's oracle on the Hebrew God within the oracle on God as supercelestial fire quoted in *Theosophia* 13; that is, it identifies the transcendent deity with the Hebrew God.

The several oracular compositions reviewed appear to make free use of blocks of three or four verses of theistic content, arranged as the poet desired in order to express pagan or Jewish beliefs (see also *Theosophia* 15). It is not likely that any was spoken at Didyma or Klaros. The name Theophilos, reputed recipient of *Theosophia* 13, is revealing: God-Lover asks Apollo whether Apollo or another is God and receives a monotheistic answer. It is true that the name Theophilos occurs, though not often, as a name of ancient Greeks; but it looks as though it were deliberately chosen for an invented oracle on this subject.

R51 was certainly known to Porphyry and perhaps R50 also. But Lactantius probably did not draw R49 on Christ from Porphyry's book on oracles. Just before his quotation of R51 Augustine quotes (in Latin translation) an oracle from Porphyry's collection in which Apollo attacks the Christian religion (Robinson [73] considers this a Didymaean response); and Augustine does not quote R49 among the good things that Porphyry has to say about Christ (*CD* 19.23EF).

R49 and R51 belong to a class of oracles which adherents of Judaism and Christianity framed as testimony of pagan Oracles to the truth of these religions and their doctrines; e.g., Delphic Q250, 263, 268. In view of R33 it is unlikely that Didyma ever spoke such a response. See p. 84. On *Theosophia* see pp. 243–44.

52 (Rob. 89) [?] Not genuine

C., *Occ.*, *Q.* Not stated.

R. All who treat the gods' priests despitefully with arrogance of mind and who plot against their honors with impious calculations no longer complete the whole course of life, all who have maltreated the blessed gods, whose god-fearing ministerial office those priests have taken.

Mode D1, Topic 1d

Direct, verse—Julian *Epist.* 451ab; *Frag. epist.* 297cd.

Text. . . . τῶν τοῦ Διδυμαίου δεσπότου χρησμῶν ἐπάκουσον, εἴ σοι φανείη πάλαι μὲν ἔργῳ νουθετήσας καλῶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὕστερον δὲ τοὺς σωφρονοῦντας διδάσκων τοῖς λόγοις·

Ὅσσοι ἐς ἀρητῆρας ἀτασθαλίῃσι νόοιο
ἀθανάτων ῥέζουσ' ἀποφώλια καὶ γεράεσσιν
ἀντία βουλεύουσιν ἀδεισιθέοισι λογισμοῖς,
οὐκέθ' ὅλην βιότοιο διεκπερόωσιν ἀταρπὸν,
ὅσσοι περ μακάρεσσιν ἐλωβήσαντο θεοῖσιν,
ὧν κεῖνοι θεόσεπτον ἔλον θεραπηνίδα τιμήν.

[*Ep.* 451ab]

1 *μετάκουσον* Paris. 2964

. . . listen to the words of the Didymaean lord, if it should appear to you that by deed he has advised the Hellenes well in the past, and since then teaches the intelligent with his words: "All who treat the gods' priests despitefully [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. In the second sentence following his quotation of this response Julian informs the reader that he holds the office of prophet of the Didymaean god. It is unlikely, however, that he had heard this response (probably he never conducted or attended a session at Didyma) or that it came to him from Didymaean records. This is an invented oracle of the kind that Porphyry knew. In *Frag. epist.* 298 Julian refers to the god's many pronouncements on the need to honor priests. They may have been pious inventions of pagans meant to counter the teachings of Christians, Cynics, and unbelievers. See p. 25.

53 (Rob. 90) [?] Not genuine
C., *Occ.*, *Q.* Not stated.
R. All my ministers [I shall protect] from baneful wickedness. In their [the ministers'] behalf I shall punish them [the offenders].
Mode E1, Topic 1d
Direct, verse, partly indirect, incomplete—Julian *Frag. epist.* 298a.

Text. καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλοις ὁ θεός φησι,
Πάντας μὲν θεράποντας ἐμοὺς ὀλοῆς κακότητος,
καὶ φησιν ὑπὲρ τούτων δίκην ἐπιθήοειν αὐτοῖς.
Πάντας: Πάντῃ Voss. 77

And again in other words the god says, "All my ministers from baneful wickedness," and he says that in their behalf he will punish them [the offenders].

Comment. This immediately follows Julian's quotation of R52 in *Frag. epist.* 297cd, and "the god" must be Apollo Didymeus. See p. 25.

54 (Rob. 106) [?] Not genuine
C., *Occ.*, *Q.* Not stated.
R. I sang and divine Homer copied.
Mode D1, Topic 3g
Direct, verse—Synesios *Dion* 15, 59b (2.1.273 Terzaghi).

Text. ἢ οὐ ποιητής ἐστιν ὁ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔχων τὸ Πυθοῖ καὶ νὴ Δία τὸ ἐν Βραγχίδαις; οὗτος μέντοι μετεποιήθη καὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου ποιήσεως αὐτῷ προσηκούσης·
Ἤειδον μὲν ἐγὼν ὁ δ' ἀπέγραφε θεῖος Ὅμηρος.

Or is not the god who has the Oracle at Pytho and by Zeus that at Branchidai a poet? In fact, he pretended that Homer's poetry was his: "I sang and divine Homer copied."

Comment. It is not entirely clear whether Apollo is said to have spoken this at Pytho or at Branchidai or at both places, but Synesios' manner of expression—his *καὶ νὴ Δία* just before mentioning Branchidai and *οὗτος μέντοι* immediately after—make it probable that this is the Oracle to which he attributes the statement. For the verse, not quoted as an oracle, see Anth. Pal. 9.455; cf. Philostr. *Her.* 18, 726.

55 (Rob. 93) [323 A.D.] Not genuine
C. Emperor Licinius.
Occ. Conflict with Constantine (vi).
Q. On the war.
R. Old man, surely young warriors exhaust you; your strength has failed, and hard old age is upon you.
Mode D1, Topic 2e
Direct, verse—Sozomen *Hist. eccl.* 1.7.73.

Text. ἀμέλει τοίνυν καὶ Ἕλληνές φασιν αὐτὸν τότε ἀποπειραθῆναι τοῦ ἐν Μιλήτῳ *μαντείου τοῦ Διδυμαίου Ἀπόλλωνος· ἐρομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου χρῆσαι τὸ δαιμόνιον τουτουσὶ τοὺς Ὁμηρικοὺς στίχους·*

Ὦ γέρον ἦ μάλα δή σε νεοὶ τείρουσι μαχηταὶ
σή τε βίη λέλυται, χαλεπὸν δέ σε γῆρας ὀπάζει.

Then, to be sure, the Greeks also say that he [Licinius] at that time tried the Oracle of the Didymaean Apollo in Miletos, and to his question on the war the deity spoke these Homeric verses: "Old man, surely young warriors [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. The response quotes Iliad 8.102–103. See pp. 102, 104.

56 362 A.D.
C. Emperor Julian.
Occ. Contemplated invasion of Persia (vi).
Q. Should he take the field? (1)
R. He should take the field and will be victorious.
Mode A1 (E2), Topic 2e
Indirect—Theodor. *Hist. eccl.* 3.16.21.

Text. πέμψας δὲ εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ Δωδώνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χρηστήρια, εἰ χρὴ στρατεύειν ἐπηρώτᾳ τοὺς μάντεις. οἱ δὲ καὶ ***στρατεύειν*** *ἐκέλευον καὶ ὑπισχνοῦντο τὴν νίκην.*

And sending to Delphi and Dodona and the other Oracles, he [Julian] asked the manteis whether he should take the field; and they both bid him take the field and promised him the victory.

Comment. In view of Julian's office of prophet at Didyma (Jul. *Epist.* 451bc) it must surely have been one of the other Oracles that he consulted. We may suspect that *Dôdônên* is a copyist's mistake for *Didyma*, since otherwise

Dodona is not mentioned as operative after 200 B.C. As reported here the response may well be authentic. The acting prophet approved Julian's venture and assured him of victory (although he met defeat), as long before Didyma assured Alexander of victory (R4). See Q262, which is certainly spurious; see pp. 25, 104.

LEGENDARY RESPONSES

57 (Rob. 16)
C. Lyrkos.
Occ. Lack of children (xi).
Q. On birth of children.
R. He will impregnate the first woman with whom he lies after leaving the temple.
Mode F, Topic 3a
Indirect—Nikainetos and Apollon. Rhod. *ap.* Parthen. 1.2.

> *Text.* χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ προιόντος ὡς τῷ Λύρκῳ παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίγνοντο ἦλθεν εἰς Διδυμέως χρησόμενος περὶ γονῆς τέκνων. καὶ αὐτῷ θεσπίζει ὁ θεὸς **παῖδας φύσειν ᾗ ἂν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ χωρισθεὶς πρώτῃ συγγένηται.**
>
> After much time had passed and no children were born to Lyrkos, he went to the temple of Didymeus to ask about birth of children; and the god told him that he would impregnate the first woman with whom he lay after leaving the temple.

Comment. Lyrkos was a son of Phoroneus. When brigands carried Io off (cf. Herod. 1.1.4), King Inachos sent Lyrkos and other men to look for her. Failing to find Io and fearing Inachos' wrath, Lyrkos did not go back to Argos, but went to Kaunos, where he married the king's daughter. She bore no children, and so Lyrkos went to Didyma and received this response, with which he was highly pleased. He hastened on his way back to his wife in Kaunos, and on the way put in to land at Bybastos on the Carian coast, where Staphylos, Dionysos' son, entertained him. Staphylos knew the oracle that Lyrkos had received and wanted one of his daughters to bear Lyrkos' son. It was Hemithea who lay with Lyrkos that night and became pregnant. The child was Basilos, who became king of Kaunos after Lyrkos' death.

This response resembles two attributed to Delphi, L4 (Aigeus and Aithra, parents of Theseus) and L82 (Kephalos and Arktos, parents of Arkeisios). See pp. 5, 94; Fontenrose 1948: 142 with note 34, 1951: 126.

58 (Rob. 54)
C. Not stated.
Occ. Apparently a shipwreck (i).

Q. Probably what was the cause (6).
R. Poseidon's creature, watery prodigy, loud-voiced Triton, hit the hollow ship with violent movements while swimming. Mode D2, Topic 3g
Direct, verse—Ael. *NA* 13.21.

Text. *ἐπὶ τοῦτοις δὲ αἰδοῦμαι τὸν θεὸν, καὶ ἄξιον πείθεσθαι τῷ μάρτυρι τῷ τοσῷδε· εἴη δ' ἂν ὁ ἐν Διδύμοις Ἀπόλλων τεκμηριῶσαι ἱκανὸς παντὶ ὅτῳ νοῦς τε ὑγιαίνει καὶ ἔρρωται ἡ φρήν. Τρίτωνα γοῦν θρέμμα θαλάττιόν φησιν εἶναι, καὶ ἃ λέγει ταῦτά ἐστι·*

Θρέμμα Ποσειδάωνος ὑγρὸν τέρας ἤπυτα Τρίτων
νηχόμενος γλαφυρῆς ὁρμήμασι σύντυχε ναός.

Εἰ τοίνυν ὁ πάντα εἰδὼς καὶ Τρίτωνας εἶναί φησιν, ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ τούτου διαπορεῖν οὐ χρή.

And after these authorities I respect the god, and it behooves us to believe so great a witness. And Apollo at Didyma would be a witness satisfactory to anyone who has sound mind and sensible judgement. At any rate he says that Triton is a marine creature, and this is what he says: "Poseidon's creature, watery prodigy [etc.; *R* above]." So if he who knows everything says that there are Tritons, we should have no doubt about it.

Comment. It is possible that the narrative from which Aelian took this notice placed the shipwreck in an historical period. But we have no information at all about when this supposedly happened, and as far as we can learn from Aelian's words, it was a mythical or legendary event. Robinson is inclined to consider this response authentic, comparing it to R45, which he accepts as genuine. See p. 94.

59 (Rob. 94)
C. Neileus.
Occ. Arrival at Miletos with Ionian migrants (x).
Q. Where should we settle? (9)
R. (1) His daughter will show him. (2) He should take the land where someone offers him a clod of earth.
Mode E2 (1), B (2), Topic 3g (1), 3h (2)
Indirect—(1) Tzetzes on Lyk. 1385. (2) Tzetzes *Chil.* 13. 111–112.

Text. (1) *τοῦ δὲ Νειλέως πάλιν ἐν Μιλήτῳ μαντευσαμένου ποῦ δεῖ κτίζειν, ὁ θεὸς ἔφη* ***τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ δείξειν αὐτῷ.***

And when Neileus consulted an Oracle again in Miletos about where he should settle, the god said that his daughter would show him.

(2) *καὶ πάλιν δὲ μαντεύεται τοῖς Καρικοῖς μαντείοις,*
χρησμὸς ἐδόθη τούτῳ δὲ ***χώραν λαβεῖν ἐκείνην***
ὅπου παράσχοι τις αὐτῷ βῶλον τῆς γῆς βωλάκων.
[*Chil.* 13.110–112]

And he consulted again at the Carian Oracles, and a response was given to him that he should take that land where somebody would offer him a clod of earth.

Comment. By Carian Oracles Tzetzes apparently means Didyma. Version 1 is elsewhere attributed to Delphi (L70) or is unascribed. Version 2 is unascribed by Schol. vet. on Lyk. 1379, but he says that Neileus landed at Miletos after receiving it, and so seems to imply that Neileus received it before he left Athens.

The two versions may be considered different responses, but in each a young woman will reveal to Neileus the sign that will show him where to settle. Neileus' daughter, a wanton woman, pointed to her genitals and said, "Will anyone cohabit [*synousiasai*] with me here?"; and Neileus at once perceived the sign that told him where to settle. In *Chil.* 13.112 Tzetzes' *tis* is a young woman, a potter maid, as Lykophron and his Scholiasts make clear. Neileus tricked her into giving him moistened clay to use as a seal. See Lyk. 1378–1387. See pp. 6, 88, 94.

60 (Rob. 34)
C. King Laodamas of Miletos.
Occ. Taking of Karystos with many captives (vi).
Q. Not stated.
R. Include the Karystian captive woman and her child in the tithe of spoils that you dedicate at Branchidai.
Mode A1, Topic 1b
NP. Testimony—Oracle: Conon 44.

Text. αἰχμάλωτον δὲ κατὰ χρησμὸν γυναῖκα Καρυστίαν παῖδα φέρουσαν ὑπομάσθιον μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἀναθημάτων ἃ δεκάτη τῶν λαφύρων ἐτύγχανον ἀνέπεμψεν ἐν Βραγχίδαις.

And in accordance with an oracle he sent back a Karystian woman who was carrying a nursing child, along with many other dedications, which comprised a tithe of the spoils, as a votive offering at Branchidai.

Comment. Laodamas was king perhaps in the late eighth century, but Branchos, the legendary founder of the Oracle, was presiding over the sanctuary at this time, according to the story, and in tradition the Oracle was founded before the Ionian migration. This is a legend, formulated in the late seventh or in the sixth century and anachronistic in the manner of legends.

The word order would suggest that the oracular command was to take the woman captive, but that seems very unlikely in the circumstances of a captured city, where everyone is being taken captive.

Since Laodamas was the king of Miletos and the offering was made at Didyma, it is probable that the narrative intends the Didymaean Apollo as speaker, through Branchos, of this response. See pp. 94, 108.

FICTIONAL RESPONSE

61 (Rob. 55)
C. The king, Psyche's father.
Occ. Psyche had no suitors (xii).
Q. That the god grant marriage and a husband to Psyche (12).
R. Place the girl, garbed in funeral-chamber dress, on the peak of a high mountain. Do not hope for a son-in-law of human stock, but a fierce, wild, and poisonous evil that flies on wings through the sky and plagues all creatures, and with fire and iron weakens them one by one, an evil that Jove himself trembles at, by which deities are frightened, and at which rivers and the Stygian shades shudder.
Mode A1 (C2), Topic 3b
Direct, verse (elegiac)—Apuleius *Met.* 4.33.

Text. sic infortunatissimae filiae miserrimus pater suspectatis caelestibus odiis et irae superum metuens dei Milesii vetustissimum percontatur oraculum et tanto numine precibus et victimis ingratae virgini petit nuptias et maritum. sed Apollo quanquam Graecus et Ionicus propter Milesiae conditorem sic Latina sorte respondit,

Montis in excelsi scopulo rex siste puellam
ornatam mundo funerei thalami.
nec speres generum mortali stirpe creatum
sed saevum atque ferum vipereumque malum,
quod pinnis volitans super aethera cuncta fatigat
flammaque et ferro singula debilitat,
quod tremit ipse Jovis, quo numina terrificantur
fluminaque horrescunt et Stygiae tenebrae.

[*Met.* 4.32–33]

Hence the very sad father of a very unfortunate daughter, suspecting heavenly ill will and fearing the gods' wrath, consulted the ancient Oracle of the Milesian god, and from so mighty a divine power with prayers and sacrifices asked for marriage and a husband for the unfavored maid. But Apollo, although Greek and Ionian, for the sake of the author of a Milesian tale replied with a Latin oracle as follows: "Place the girl [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. Since, according to the narrative, Apollo spoke this in Latin, the oracular text cannot be labeled pseudo-direct: in the story these are the very words that Apollo spoke. See pp. 79, 86, 94.

SUPPLEMENT A: FRAGMENTARY RESPONSES AND RECORDS WITHOUT ORACULAR TEXT

The following are fragmentary records of responses or of consultations in which the response text is missing. Though a few such records are included in the Catalogue above, their response content is fairly evident; this is not true of the following records. All are Historical.

Only visible words or those restored with fair certainty are reproduced here. Word fragments are usually omitted when the whole word is not restorable.

A1 (Rob. 76) 202 A.D.
C. Ulpius Athenagoras, prophet.
Occ., *Q.* Not stated.
R. The first two words perhaps mean "The other oracles." The third line of the response may begin "Leto's son" or "to Leto."
Direct, verse—Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 278.8–10.

Text. Τύ[χῃ ἀγα]θῇ. / Προφήτης εὐσεβὴ[ς Οὔ]λπιος Ἀθηναγόρας / . . . / (7) . . . ᾧ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐ[ν αὐ]τοματισμῷ ἔ[χρησε·] / **[Τ]ἆλλα θεμισ[τὰ?——]** . . . / (10) **Λητο[ίδης** or **ῖ?——]** / . . . (lines 11–16 not relevant)
The restorations followed by queries are my suggestions.

For good luck. Pious prophet Ulpius Athenagoras . . . to whom the god responded in *automatismos*, "The other oracles [etc.; see *R* above]."

Comment. On *automatismos* see p. 103. I do not think that in this inscription it means "spontaneously," but that the response was spoken on another topic than that of the prophet's question. See p. 104.

A2 (Rob. 69) Circa 200 A.D.?
C. Workers in the temple?
Occ., *Q.* Unknown.
R. Too fragmentary for any content to be known.
Direct, verse?—Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 498.

Text. Οἱ ἐν τῷ [ναῷ ἐργαζόμενοι?] / ἐρωτ[ῶσιν——] / . . .
[1–2]

Those who are working in the temple [?] ask——

Comment. Two pieces of an inscribed plaque show only the first two to six letters of each of eighteen lines. One cannot tell where the question ends and the response begins. Line 2 of fragment II may begin with some form of *rezein*, "make sacrifice." If the consultants were workmen the occasion and question may have been similar to those of R19, a problem or dispute concerning the work to be undertaken.

A3 (Rob. 68) Early third century A.D.
C. Unknown.
Occ. Apparently an earlier response on propitiating a deity or deities, after which on awakening from sleep the inquirer found an image (vii?).
Q. Unclear.
R. Very fragmentary text. There is mention of a prophet and an altar.
Mode ?, Topic 1d?
Direct, verse—Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 500A.14–16, B.

Text. A. —— / (6) —— ἐρωτῶ· Ἐπεὶ χρησαμέ/[νος ——]ν ἱλάσκεσθαι πυθαμέ/[νος ——]σω ἐθέσπισας ἐν Δι/[δύμοις ——]ενε γενόμενος δὲ / (10) —— ὕπνου αὐτῷ μὲν . . . / [—— ἀ]φείδρυμα εὗρον / ——ασθαι· καὶ οὕτω / —— Θεὸς ἔχρ(ησε)·

(In part A.14–16 only the last five to nine letters of each line are preserved, in part B only the first five to seven letters of each of eight lines. The only complete or nearly complete words are (A) ὀλίγιστον [least], προφητ—[prophet]; (B) εἰ δὲ [but if], τὰς αὐ—[the same?, *fem.*], βωμὸν [altar], νυκτί? [at night], ὁππότα [when], καὶ δισσ—[and double].)

6–7 χρησαμέ[νῳ]? 7–8 πυθαμέ[νῳ]?

. . . I ask, "Since, having consulted . . . to propitiate having learned . . . you spoke an oracle at Didyma . . . and having become . . . from sleep, to myself [?] . . . I found an image . . . and thus. . . ." The god replied, . . . [see parenthesis above].

Comment. For a response, probably legendary, to a question on the finding of an image of Dionysos see L171, which PW 338 consider authentic. In A.11 there could be a stop after *apheidryma*; the question may have concerned the dedication of an image in the sanctuary, as the word suggests: for an image found somewhere one would expect *eikôn* or *agalma*. In A.10 *autôi* before *men* has to be the intensive pronoun "self"; it may be "to myself" or "to himself." In any case it indicates a contrast with someone else who should head a following *de* clause. If it refers to the questioner it was a man who inquired. The reference to sleep may mean that he inquired about a dream.

A4 (Rob. 51) Second century A.D.?
C. Philodionysiac association.
Occ. Difference of opinions on some matter (xxi?).
Q. With respect to his intentions . . . [should he] with his friends [act according to] . . . opinion or according to the [opinion]. . . . You have . . . concerning that which he intends . . . and . . . the first opinion . . . if . . . and the . . . of the Bakcheion . . . (1).
R. To you a mortal lot [?] . . . [of the remainder only fragments of three words are visible].

Mode?, Topic 1d?
Direct, verse—Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 502.17–20.

Text. [Οἱ Φ]ιλοδιόννσοι —— / . . . χρωμένῳ ἐρ——ἐ[ν τ]ῷἔναγχος [—— τῷ θε]/ῷ. Εἰ καθ' ἃ διανοεῖ —— / (5) μετὰ τῶν φίλων [—— γ]/ῃώμην ἢ κατά τὴν —— /ας· ἐστίν σοι πρω—— /λη περὶ οὗ μέλεει —— / [δ]ὲ ἡ πρώτη γνώ[μη — —] / (10) . . . ἐᾷν —— / . . . καὶ τὸν πᾳ—— / [Βα]κχείου . . . . / (16) Θ[εὸς] ἔχ[ρησε·] / **[Σ]οὶ θνητὴ** —— / —— (lines 18–20 illegible)

8 μέλεει for μέλλει

The philodionysoi . . . to [someone] consulting the Oracle . . . recently . . . to the god: "Whether with respect to his intentions [etc.; *Q* above]." The god replied, "To you a mortal lot [?] [etc.; *R* above]."

Comment. Compare R8, 19. See p. 104.

A5 (Rob. 58) Imperial period
C. Unknown, perhaps a prophet.
Occ. Unknown.
Q. (A) Unknown.
R. (A) Mostly lost; there is reference to a Bacchic woman.
Q. (B) Since . . . in the prophethood . . . I find [?] . . . not inscribed . . . by someone of the . . . [?]
R. (B) Missing.
Direct, verse (A)—Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 503.1–7.
Testimony (B)—*DI* 503.8–13.

Text. (A) —— / (4) —— **Βάκχηι** —— / (5)—**ὑγραῖς** —— / **γλυκερὸν** —— / . . . **ὑπὲρ** —— / . . .

(B) . . . ἐρωτῶ· Ἐπὶ —— / . . . ἐν τῇ προφητ[είᾳ —— / (10) . . . καταλαμ-[βάνω ? —— / . . . οὐκ ἐπιγεγρ[αμμέν— ? ——] / —— ὑπό τινος τῶν —— / ——.

10, 11 Restorations followed by queries are my suggestions.

[The god replied,] ". . . to a Bacchic woman . . . wet [fem. pl.] . . . sweet . . . over. . . ."

. . . I ask, "Since . . . in the prophethood [etc.; *Q* (B) above]."

Comment. The question follows the conclusion of a response and probably introduces another response. For the question compare R22, 30.

A6 (Rob. 67) *Circa* 200 A.D.?
C. Unknown.
Occ. Possibly a dream or vision (vii ?).
Q. Did he see truly or falsely? (11)
R. Fragmentary; there are references to Artemis (perhaps to the springs of her sanctuary) and to the ordaining of something lawful.

Mode D1 (?), Topic 1d (?)
Direct, verse—Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 505.6–10.

Text. (2) —— *γυναῖκα* —— / —— *ἐθίμων ἡμερ*[*ῶν* ——] / —— *πότερον ἀλ-ηθῶς εἶδεν* [*ἢ ψευδῶς.*] // (5) *Θεὸς ἔχρησεν·* / [—— ***ἄν*]*δρες θνητῶν πυκι-ναῖς*** —— / [—— ***Ἀρ*]*τέμιδος μεγάλων ὑδ*[*άτων ?*** —— / —— ***διετάξατ*[*ο*] *θέσμ*[*ιον εἶναι ?*** —— / —— ***ε*]*ὐ*⟨*σ*⟩*εβεῖ αἴσι*** —— // (10) ——

7 *ὑδ*[*ατ*— Rehm's conjecture: *ὑδ*[*άτων* my suggestion 8 Rehm's conjectural restoration

. . . woman . . . of the customary days . . . [he asks] whether he saw truly or falsely. The god replied, ". . . men with sagacious minds of mortals [?] . . . of Artemis' great springs [?] . . . he ordained that it is lawful [?] . . . auspicious for a pious man [?] . . ."

Comment. The question may be on the reliability of a dream or vision and the response may assure the questioner that it was auspicious. It is also possible that the consultation concerned the appointment of a priestess of Artemis. But the inscription is too fragmentary for a plausible conjecture. Compare R22, 23, 25.

A7 (Rob. 46) 150–160 A.D.?
C. Pergamenes.
Occ. A problem concerning the burial of Marcellus and Rufinus (xv).
Q. Where would it be lawful that the deceased Marcellus and Rufinus be buried, in view of their past excellence of life? (2)
R. Missing.
Testimony—Inscription of Pergamon, *IPerg* 8.3.2, p. 23.

Text. *Πυνθανομένων Περ/γαμηνῶν τοῦ ἐν Διδύμοι*[*ς*] / *Ἀπόλλωνος ὅποι ὅσ-ιον / εἴη θάπτεσθαι τοὺς / ἥρωας Μάρκ*[*ε*]*λλον / καὶ Ῥουφεῖνον διὰ τὸ* // *παρ-ελθὸν αὐτοῖς / ἐνάρετον βίου, / ἔχρησεν ὁ θεός·* ——

When the Pergamenes asked Apollo at Didyma where it would be lawful [etc.; *Q* above], the god replied, ——

Comment. See pp. 90, 104.

A8 (Rob. 80) Third century A.D.?
C., *Occ.*, *Q.* Unknown.
R. It will be [or is] better to do [whatever was proposed in the question].
Mode A2, Topic?
Direct, verse—Inscription of Didyma, Tuchelt 1971: 106 (Günther).

Text. [Only a few letters are preserved at the ends of lines in the lower right corner of the inscription.] —— (4) [—— *θεὸς ἔχρησ*]*εν·* / —— ***βροτῶν*** / —— ***οὕνεκεν*** / [—— ***λ*]*ώιον ἔσ*/[*ται ?*** ——]

. . . The god replied, ". . . of mortals . . . it will be better. . . ."

Comment. See p. 91.

A9 (Rob. 57) Severan period.
C. Stephanephors of Kyzikos.
Occ., *Q.* Not stated.
R. Missing.
Testimony—Inscription of Kyzikos, *Ath. Mitt.* 6 (1881) 121 = *BCH* 13 (1889) 518–519 = Gustave Mendel, *Musées imperiaux ottomans, Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines* III (Athens, 1908) 292 no. 571 (2).

Text. Ἱπparχοῦντος Τ. / Κλ. Εὐμένους / ἥρως χρησμὸς / στεφανηφόρων // ὃν ἔχρησεν αὐτοῖς / Ἀπόλλων ἐν Δι/δύμοις.

When the late Titus Claudius Eumenes was hipparch, an oracle of the stephanephors, which Apollo at Didyma spoke to them.

Comment. In *The Delphic Oracle* (1978: 423, response 26) I took the oracle mentioned to be a direction for a statue of the hipparch. More likely the introductory genitive is a date formula, since Kyzikene inscriptions are often dated by the hipparch in office. Furthermore the inscription was cut on a stele, not on a statue base. The oracle text may have been inscribed beneath the quoted text, but as the inscription stands, we do not know its content.

A10 (Rob. 52) Second century A.D.?
C. Demos of the Kalymnians.
Occ., *Q.* Unknown.
R. [Perhaps in part:] Honor the ancestor [*or* ruler] of all gods and men, the perpetual Savior Zeus Patroos and Keraunios and the other gods. [?]
Mode A1, Topic 1b
Testimony—Inscription of Kalymnos, *Tituli Calymnii* 69 (Mario Segre, *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* n.s. 6–7 [1944–45]: 88–89) = Mario Segre, "Un documento misconosciuto del culto Augusteo," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia* 16 (1940): 25–27, 31, 35; see *IBM* 321.

Text. The following is Segre's text with his restorations.

[Ἔδοξε Καλυμνίων τῷ δάμ]ῳ, γνώμα τοῦ
[στεφανηφόρου Φιλω]νίδα τοῦ Χαρεισίου·
[Ἐπειδὴ ἐπενειχθέντος δ]ιὰ τὰν τῶν θεῶν προνοί-
[αν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, πάντα] σώζεται καὶ διοικεῖται,
[ὥστε γενέσθαι] καρπῶν τελεσφορίας κατὰ
[γᾶν, τοῦ δὲ Καλυμ]νίων δάμου διὰ τοῦ τόκα δαμάρ-
[χου κατὰ χρησμὸ]ν τοῦ Διδυμέω[ς] Ἀπόλλωνο[ς]
[τιμᾶν προστάξ]αντος τὸν πάντων γ[ε]νάρχ[α]ν
[θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώ]πων τὸν διηνεκῆ Σωτῆρα Δί[α]
[Πατρῷον καὶ Κε]ραύνιον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς θε-
[ούς, καὶ τοῦ θε]οῦ τὸν χρησμὸν ἐνγεγραμμένον

[ἀναθεῖναι ἐς ὑγί]ε̣ι̣αν καὶ σωτηρίαν
[τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅπως] οὖν ἀπαράβα-
[τος ᾖ ἃ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλὰ, δεδόχθαι· τὸ]ν θεὸν Δία
15 [Πατρῷον καὶ Κεραύνιον ——]

[The demos of the Kalymnians] on motion of the [stephanephor Philonidas] Chareisios' son [has resolved that, Whereas as a result of Augustus' having been brought (to us)] through the gods' providence, [everything] is being preserved and governed [so that] crops have matured upon [earth, and the] demos of the Kalymnians through the then demarch [having ordained in accordance with an oracle] of Apollo Didymeus [that honor be given to] the ancestor [or ruler] of all [gods and men,] the perpetual Savior Zeus [Patroos and] Keraunios, and the other gods; [and that the god's] oracle be inscribed [and set up for the health] and safety [of Augustus Caesar, in order that the god's will not be] transgressed; [be it resolved that (honor be given to)] the god Zeus [Patroos and Keraunios ——].

Comment. The final word of 14 could be the preposition *dia*. This is, in fact, more probable, since such a locution as "the god Zeus" does not, to my knowledge, appear in inscriptions, and is unlikely elsewhere. This would invalidate Segre's restoration in line 15.

Segre dates this inscription to about 25 B.C., after Augustus fell sick at Tarraco in Spain in 26. See Segre, *Rendiconti Pont. Acc. Arch.* 16 (1940): 25–41. But Newton (*IBM* 321) and Robinson date it in later imperial times.

Segre's restoration is very questionable. J. and L. Robert (*Bull. Epigr.* [1948] 189) do not accept it and are certain that the inscription has nothing to do with Augustus. There seems to me to be a syntactical fault in lines 6–14 as restored by Segre: the *de* of line 6, introducing the second part of the subordinate section beginning in line 3, does not introduce a finite verb, though one would expect it to introduce a subordinate member with a finite verb after *epeidê*, as in other inscriptions of decrees. In Segre's restoration the *de* connects two genitive absolute constructions incongruously. It also seems dubious to suppose that the Kalymnians considered the prosperity of the crops to be a result of Octavian's assumption of the principate.

The visible text is too little to allow us any certain knowledge of oracular content, and any restoration is too uncertain to be relied upon.

SUPPLEMENT B: TEXTS THAT MAY QUOTE OR RECORD DIDYMAEAN RESPONSES

The following are texts that may quote or notice Didymaean responses, but are not so identified, and may not be oracular records.

B1 (Rob. 88) Third century A.D.

Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 217; Richard Harder, *Kleine Schriften* (Munich: Beck, 1960) 137–147; Hommel 1964; W. Peek, *ZPE* 7 (1971) 196–200.

Text.

[Ὦ μέλεοι τί μοι] εἰλιπόδων ζατρεφεῖς ἑκατόμβαι
[λαμπροί τε χρυ]σοῖο βαθυπλούτοιο κολοσσοὶ
[καὶ χαλκῷ δεί]κηλα καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἀσκηθέντα;
[οὔ γε μὲν ἀθ]άνατοι κτεάνων ἐπιδευέες εἰσὶν
[οὐδὲ βροτῶν χρ]είης ἥπερ φρένες ἰαίνονται.
[ὑμῖν δ' εὐπρεπ]ὲς ὕμνον ἐμοῖς μέλπειν παρὰ σήκοις
[ἄνδρας ὅπως κ]αὶ πρόσθεν, ὅταν μέλλῃ φάτιν ἄξων
[ἀμφαίνειν ἀδ]ύτων· χαίρω δὲ ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀοιδῇ,
[σεμνή ὅταν τ]ελέθῃ, πολλὸν δ' εἴπερ τε παλαιή·
[ὅττι γὰρ εὖαδ]ε μᾶλλον, ἐμοὶ πολὺ φέρτερόν ἐστιν.
[τῆσδέ μοι εὐφ]ροσύνης ἔσται χάρις αἰὲν ἀμεμφὴς
[ἐξ ὅτε πρῶτον] ἐγὼ πολυκηδέας ἤλασα νούσους,
[οὐλομένων] ἀλεγεινὰ δυσωπήσας λίνα Μοιρῶν.

1–3, 5, 13 Harder's restorations; 4, 6–12 Peek's restorations. Rehm and Hommel have suggested other restorations, but since all, including the above, are uncertain, I have not listed them here. For my purpose it is enough to offer a readable text that the visible words show to be the apparent intent of the poem.

O woeful mortals, what to me are well-fed hecatombs of shambly-gaited oxen and splendid colossal statues of rich gold and images fashioned of bronze and silver? Surely the gods do not lack chattels nor the goods that mortals need with which they warm their hearts. But for you it is proper that men sing a hymn beside my shrines, as also in former times, when the axle is about to reveal an oracle from the adyton. And I rejoice in all song, when it is reverently performed, and very much if it is old; for that which has given more pleasure is much better for me. The joy of such festivity as this will always be perfect to me, from the time when I first drove away grievous diseases, disconcerting the baneful Moirai's threads.

Comment. The poem was inscribed on a marble block in the wall of the prophets' house. The left side has been broken off, removing approximately the first third of each verse (about two metrical feet in each).

In the text as restored here the poet represents Apollo as valuing acts of worship over rich offerings. The content is clearly unlike that of any surviving Historical response of Didyma. It is more like the Quasi-Historical responses quoted by Porphyry and Lactantius; and it is, in fact, a late inscription, probably of the third century A.D.

Though a god is speaker, I do not believe that the verses are meant to be an oracle. The poem is not introduced with *Theos echrêsen*, "The god spoke,"

nor with any other words that suitably introduce an inscribed response, as are all verse responses quoted in Didymaean and Milesian inscriptions; the space above the first verse is empty.

With the thought we may compare "Delphic" L172 (which Robinson 1981: 242–244, 450–452 [D–91] considers Didymaean and authentic), which concludes, "and I rejoice in pious men as much as in Olympus." It is one of the theological themes of the poetry of late antiquity, some of which purported to be oracular speech (cf. Porphyry *ap.* Eus. *PE* 5.6–15, 190a–203d).

Apollo is probably meant to be the god who speaks these verses. Outside of oracular verse we find gods speaking in epic and dramatic poetry, but do we ever find gods speaking in their own words in short non-oracular poetic compositions? I recall none and have as yet found none in Greek or Latin poetry, but there may be examples. Ancient Hebrew poetry, however, has such compositions: in Psalm 50, for example, God speaks in the first person (cf. Psalm 2.7–12), and in fact its theme is that of *DI* 217: "Shall I eat bulls' flesh or drink blood of goats? Offer unto God thanksgiving, and pay your vows to Elyon. And call me on a day of trouble: I shall deliver you that you may honor me" (50.13–15). The third sentence is similar to the conclusion of *DI* 217, where the god calls attention to his deliverance from plague. The prophets also represent God himself as speaker (e.g., Isaiah 1, Jeremiah 1–4); but one might say that this is oracular poetry. The Hebrew examples may be relevant to the third century A.D., when there was much interest expressed in religious and theological questions, and when Judaism and Christianity had some effect on pagan religious thought. Much of the empire's population had become Christian, especially in Asia Minor, and there were Jewish communities in all the cities; the Judaeo-Christian scriptures were known to educated pagans and inspired poetic compositions of the same kind as found in them. Hence I believe that *DI* 217 is a composition on proper devotion, probably composed by a Didymaean prophet, and is not an oracular response.

Notice *axôn* at the end of line 7. Iamblichos (*Myst.* 11) tells us that the promantis at Didyma sat upon an axle. But so much of the text is missing that we cannot be sure that the word is not the masculine nominative singular future active participle of *agô*. See pp. 80 note 6, 111.

B2 (Rob. 31) 67/6 B.C.
Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 229 II = Robert 1960: 450, lines 7–12.

Text. Elegiac verse in honor of the prophet and stephanephor Philodemos.

Μάρτυς μὲν ψυχᾶς ὁσίου πέλει α[ὐ]τὸ[ς Ἀπ]όλλων
αὐτοέτεις ἱεροὺς θεὶς ἐπὶ σοὶ στεφάνους.
Μίλατος δ' ἐρατὰ, Φοίβου κλυτὸν ἐμβασίλευμα,
τάσδε σαοφροσύνας νείματό σοι χάριτας,

ὡς μόνος ἐμ πάτρᾳ στεφανηφόρος ἠδὲ προφή[της]
κληζόμενος λάμπῃς Οὐρανίδαισιν ἴσα.

Apollo himself is witness to a pious soul, having set the sacred crowns upon you in the same year. And lovely Miletos, renowned kingdom of Phoibos, has awarded you these thanks for good sense, that as the only person in the country called stephanephor and prophet you may shine equally with the celestials.

Comment. It is very unlikely that a Didymaean response directed the appointment of Philodemos to the two offices in the same year (or rather his appointment as prophet during his term as stephanephor). Verses 7–8 look like a bit of poetic hyperbole, meaning that the man who held both offices at once must be Apollo's favorite. In fact, verses 9–12 tell us that Miletos gave Philodemos these offices. See *Comment* on RB5 and pp. 49, 54.

B3 (Rob. 60) After 202 A.D.
Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 243.7–8.

Text. An inscription in honor of the prophet Granianus Ambivius Macer] . . . *γένους αὐτοφαν[ῶν προγό/ν]ων, ὡς ὁ Διδυμεὺς ἐμαρτύρησ[εν . . .]*

. . . of a line of distinguished ancestors, as Didymeus testified . . .

Comment. See *Comment* on RB5.

B4 (Rob. 47) 166/7 A.D.?
Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 280.1–2. There are two texts of this inscription, inscribed on two sides of a single stele.

Text. *Προφήτης* K. *Πομπώνιος Πολλίων εὐσεβὴς / παν*ηγυρικὸς *ἰατρὸς κληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. . . .*

Prophet Quintus Pomponius Pollio, pious, serving in the festival year, physician, called by the god. . . .

Comment. The question arises whether *κληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ* should be attached to *ἰατρός* or to *Προφήτης*: was Pollio called physician or prophet by the god? That is, did the god tell him to become a physician or call him by that title, or did he call him to the prophethood? If the former, we may ask what god and in what way did he call him? If the latter, the meaning may be that his selection by lot meant the god's choice of him for the office. See V. Nutton, "The Doctor and the Oracle," *Rev. Belge Philol. Hist.* 47 (1969) 37–48; Robert 1959: 666. See *Comment* on RB5 and p. 47.

B5 (Rob. 38) First century A.D.?
Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 282.

Text. Εὐσεβέσιν κλήροις Ποσιδώνιε τρίς σε λαχόντα
δέρκομαι ἐν Διδύμοις στέμμασιν ἀθανάτοις,
τοῖον ὃν Ἀπόλλων σε προφήτην ἡσπάσατ' αὐτὸς
λημμάκρισιν μητρός τ' εὐσεβίην δικάσας.
οὔ κλέος οὐδ' αἰὼν ἐπιλήσεται· ἄνδρα γὰρ εἷλεν
τῶν πρὶν λειτουργῶν οὐδενὶ λειπόμενον.

4 λημμα- probably for λημα-

I see, Posidonios, that by pious lots you have thrice won immortal crowns, such a man as Apollo himself has welcomed as prophet, approving judgement and your mother's piety. And time will not forget your fame; for he has picked a man not at all inferior to the ministers before him.

Comment. In lines 1–2 λαχόντα governs the dative στέμμασιν ἀ., apparently on the analogy of verbs of meeting like ἀπαντᾶν.

In B2–5, it seems to me, no oracular pronouncement is indicated; the man chosen by lot to the prophethood is Apollo's choice. Robert and Robinson, however, believe that these inscriptions refer to oracular responses which expressed the god's choice of a prophet or approval of the prophet chosen by lot. It is possible that after a man had been selected to hold the office, he was confirmed in an oracular response that was supposed to be Apollo's formal approval of the choice; RA1 may be such an oracular approval. But the elegiacs above in honor of Posidonios, I believe, confirm my interpretation of these inscriptions. The choice of Posidonios by lot three times is the way in which Apollo welcomed him to the prophethood. In verse 5 ἄνδρα . . . εἷλεν, "[the god *or* time?] took a man," is expressed in the active voice, not the middle, which would mean "chose a man." This seems to mean that he drew Posidonios' lot from the urn.

If Robert and Robinson are right, we must suppose that Didymaean scribes had to compose verses every year in honor of the incoming prophet, lauding him in the manner of R29, although that can hardly be an example, since it is explicitly in answer to a question. The text preceding R29 in *DI* 277.9–12 mentions earlier *thespismata* in which the god attested Ulpianus' piety, but apparently in dreams and visions.

Robert and Robinson see other examples of oracular confirmations of incoming prophets in *DI* 223A (Rob. 64) and 302.13–14 (Rob. 81), but in the first it is only said that Apollo was witness to a prophet's virtues, and the other is too much mutilated to allow certainty of anything. *DI* 260.4–6 (Rob. 32) is simply the statement that Apollo welcomed Herakleon to the prophethood. See pp. 53–54; Robert 1960: 456–463.

B6 (Rob. 53) Imperial period
Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 497 = W. Peek, *ZPE* 7 (1971) 209–210.

Text.

—— λογίο [ισιν]
—— μὲν ἔχρησ[ε παραὶ κελαρύ]σματα κρήνης
[δώμα]τος ὀμφήεντος [—— θ]ειότερ' εἴπῃς
——ον μείμημα μει[—— κε]ύθεσι σειγὴ
——μενον Φοίβοιο παλ[αιοτέρ]οισιν ἐθισμοῖς·
—— Ἁμαδρυάδες καὶ Νηί[δες οὔ]ρεσίφοιτοι
[ἐνθάδε] καικρυφάλους ἐρα[τῶν πά]λλοντο κομάω[ν]
—— Παφίης ἐρατο[πλοκάμοιο] μεπρωτε ?
[—— ο]ὐρείοισιν ἐθι——
—— θήρης [—— ἀ]γρεία[ς?].

3 [Ἀπόλλω]ν? Rehm. Other restorations are mostly Peek's. The ten lines of verse are written on twenty lines of the inscription; the poem is incomplete, as shown by three letters in a twenty-first line.

. . . with oracles Apollo [?] spoke beside the murmurs of the spring of his oracular abode, that you may speak words more divine . . . imitation . . . in recesses silence . . . with Phoibos' more ancient usages . . . Hamadryads and Naides mountain-roaming here shook their nets of lovely locks . . . of lovely-tressed Paphia . . . among mountain-dwellers . . . of hunting in the country.

Comment. Although verse 3 has *echrêse*, the subject of which may be Apollo, and the next verse refers to the oracular temple, these words occur in hexameter verses, and the words that follow *echrêse* do not seem to be a quotation of an oracular response. This is a poem much like RB1, except that Apollo does not speak in the first person: the poet is speaker. It concerns deities, but too much of the text is lost to allow us a clear idea of the content. Aphrodite and nymphs of every kind—hamadryads, naides, and oreads—seem to be the central topic.

B7 (Rob. 24) 225–200 B.C.
Inscription of Didyma, *DI* 585.

Text. This is an inscription of eleven lines of hexameter verse, in each of which only one or two words, or a word fragment, are visible at or near the end. The whole words visible are εἰς χθόνα (2), ἤπιοι (or [ν]ήπιοι?) εἴη (3), χεύματος (4), [καλ]λιεροῦτα (5), ἀ[ρ]ίστη (6), [οὐ]κ ἀπὸ γαίης (8), ἄμεινο[ν] (9), [ἰ]κέσ[θ]αι (10), [π]ρόσθεν (11).

In the order given, these words and phrases mean "to earth," "gentle *or* foolish men, may it be," "of a stream," "making sacrifice with good omens," "best" (a woman or feminine noun), "not from earth," "(it is/will be?) better," "to arrive," "before" or "formerly."

Comment. The word *ameinon* at the end of 9 may indicate the sanction formula, "It is/will be better that you do X," but I think that we have here a religious poem like B1 and B6. See Robert 1959: 671.

B8 (Rob. 35) First century A.D.?
Inscription of Kios in Bithynia, *Ath. Mitt.* 24 (1899) 413 (Koerte) = *LSAM* 6.

Text.

[—— ἱ̣]λασσομέν[αις ——] δαιτρυέτω ἀνήρ·
πᾶσαι ἀνιλίποδές τε [καὶ] ἵμασι φαιδρυνθῖσαι
τῷ καλάθῳ συνέπεσθε, τὰ δὲ χρυσία θέτ' οἴκοις·
λ̣ῆρ̣οι γάρ· τὰ μὲν ἐχθραίνει, το[ῖ]σδε δὲ προσα[υ]δᾷ.

1 δαιτρυέτω for δαιτευέτω 4 λῆροι Sokołowski: δηρ[ό]θι Koerte

. . . let a man carve for the supplicating women; and all you women, unshod and wearing bright garments, accompany the basket and leave your gold ornaments at home; for they are trifles. Some things [the goddess] hates, but others she greets.

Comment. These are the final four verses of a poem. Since the verbs of the first three verses are in the imperative mood, this may be the conclusion of an oracular response. F. Sokołowski includes it in *LSAM* (6) as a cult law, but a cult law is usually expressed in prose. It may, however, be a devotional poem, perhaps a hymn, ending with instructions to the women who celebrate the rites of the goddess, probably Demeter. The instructions to walk barefoot and leave ornaments at home recall RB1, where the god prefers song to hecatombs and statues. It is another call for simplicity in worship.

If this composition is an oracle, it is not certainly Didymaean; but Kios, a Milesian colony, may have consulted Didyma and received these verses in response. See Robinson 1981: 223–224.

APPENDIX TO CATALOGUE

Dion Chrysostom *Or.* 45 (28).4 reports an anonymous oracle that predicted Trajan's *hêgemonia*: C. P. Jones ("An Oracle Given to Trajan," *Chiron* 5 [1975]: 403–406) believes that this was spoken at Didyma. It has also been considered Klarian. It is too doubtfully Didymaean (or so attributed if unauthentic) to be included in the Catalogue, and its authenticity as a correct prediction is also suspect.

Cited as a second source under R50 is *Theosophia* 37, and this work is referred to again in the *Comment* on R51. There survives a late collection of texts, known as the Tübingen *Theosophia*, purporting to be oracles of Greek gods and seers, including some sayings of Greek philosophers and sages. This collection is almost all that is left of a Christian work of the late fifth century called *Theosophia*, in which the author, after expounding Christian doctrine in seven books, compiled four books of pagan oracles and sayings that foreshadowed Christian theology, though many are manifestly Christian compositions. The Tübingen *Theosophia*, drawn from these compilations, is published in Buresch 1889: 89–126 and Hartmut Erbse, *Fragmente*

griechischer Theosophien (Hamburg: Hansischer Gildenverlag, 1941) 167–185. See Robinson 1981: 4–9. Some scholars believe that several of the *Theosophia* oracles were spoken at Didyma.

Louis Robert (1968) considers *Theosophia* 22–24 and Anth. Pal. 14.72 to be late responses of Didyma. *Theosophia* 22 and 23 were spoken to a certain Poplas, a name found among the prophets of Didyma (Aelianus Poplas, *DI* 169, 179.12–14, 241, 277.3–5), and Robert points out their similarity to R45–51, which he apparently believes authentic. But the identity of the *Theosophia*'s Poplas with the Didymaean prophet is too uncertain to justify including those compositions in the Catalogue (and *Theosophia* 24 and Anth. Pal. 14.72 are even less certainly Didymaean). They are unlike any authentic Didymaean response, unless we consider R45–51 authentic. That these poems employ phrases found in Didymaean responses is not conclusive, since such phrases were the common stock of hexameter poetry in all periods.

Robinson agrees with Robert that these oracles are Didymaean and authentic (Rob. 44, 61–63). For similar reasons he also includes as Didymaean oracles *Theosophia* 26, 30, 33, 34, 36, 38, 39, 41–44 (Rob. 95–105) and Aug. *CD* 19.23 (Rob. 73), which follows upon Augustine's notice of R51 (Robinson 1981: 183–266).

Rob. 33 (*IG* 12.1.701) does not refer to a consultation. Three responses in Robinson's collection (14, 82, 91) appear in my Delphic Catalogue (H36, 69; L172) and in the PW corpus of Delphic oracles (PW 335, 472, 473). They may have been Didymaean or so attributed, but the provenance or attribution is not clearly specified, except that Hierokles *In carmen aureum* 421 Mullach, quoting one verse of L172 (= PW 472 = Rob. 91), attributes it to the Pythian; and so they may have been Didymaean or Delphic or neither.

Glossary of Architectural Terms

Adyton A sacred enclosure to which only the ritually pure were admitted.

Anta The decorative termination of a wall. Columns forming a porch set between antae terminating two parallel side walls are said to be in antis.

Architrave A stone lintel spanning the space between two columns, or a column and a pier or an anta.

Bothros A pit having, or conjectured to have, some ritual function.

Decastyle Having a front of ten columns.

Dipteral Surrounded by two rows of columns; having a double peristyle.

Dodekastylos Having a front of twelve columns.

Euthynteria A course of stones set on top of the foundation of a building in order to provide a level platform.

Hypaethral Open to the sky. Used of a temple whose inner enclosed chamber was intentionally left unroofed.

Krepidoma The stepped platform upon which a temple or other building stands.

Naiskos A small naos; a little temple or chapel.

Naos The room or enclosure forming the interior of a Greek temple.

Opisthodomos A porch in the rear of a Greek temple, normally not communicating with the naos.

Pediment The triangular termination of a ridged roof.

Peristyle A colonnade surrounding a building.

Prodomos A porch forming the front entrance to the main room of a building; used as the equivalent of pronaos in texts cited in this work.

Pronaos A porch forming the front entrance to the naos of a temple.

Stylobate The upper step of the krepidoma (platform). The columns stood directly upon this upper step.

Temenos A sacred demesne.

Tetrastyle Having a front of four columns.

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Designers: Kaelin Chappell & Rick Chafian
Compositor: G&S Typesetters, Inc.
Text: 11/13 Bembo
Display: Bembo
Printer: Braun-Brumfield, Inc.
Binder: Braun-Brumfield, Inc.

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ISBN 0-520-05845-3